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ABSTRACT

This monograph was originally a chapter from a 14-volume series, "Current Trends in Linguistics," that presented reviews of research pertaining to language and society worldwide. This publication provides access to researchers of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, focusing on the Sindhi language. Chapter 1, "Sindhi Studies: 1947-67" (Lachman M. Khubchandani), presents information on the writing system, phonology, grammar, dialect studies, language in contact, lexicography, comparative and historical studies, teaching material, folklore, and general linguistics in Sindhi. Chapter 2, "Studies in Pakistan" (Anware Dil), introduces linguistic studies and research in Pakistan, focusing on current trends in Pakistani linguistics. Four appendixes present the following: a bibliographic update of Khubchandani's contributions to the subject since 1967; discussion of the composite ethos of the Subcontinent (language transplantation processes, plural communications, and targets of language development); and two critiques of Khubchandani's works, published in Pakistan (one of which is in Sindhi). (SM)

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SINDHI STUDIES : 1947-1967

A Review of Sindhi Language and Society

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

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A Review of Sindhi Language and Society

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2000

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COMMUNICATION lies at the heart of all human relations. The ***Centre's*** *endeavour is to foster integration of different modes of knowledge and promote understanding of diverse structures and values operating in plural societies such as India.*

Foreword

Documentation lays a firm foundation in the quest for knowledge. "Knowledge rigorously gathered and judiciously disseminated could indeed make a difference in human affairs." Documenting heritage provides a pivotal support in reinvigorating the past; it can be an asset in paving the path for the future of a community or of a nation.

In the realm of social studies, the INDIANA UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION in the United States ventured an ambitious programme in the sixties of commissioning scholars to survey research works pertaining to language and society from all continents covering the entire humankind. This rare feat was accomplished by an encyclopaedic series *Current Trends in Linguistics* in fourteen volumes published during 1966-1975, through the diligent editorship of Thomas W. Sebeok. This *magnum opus* provides glimpses of researches in each language (or language area) carried out from the post-World War II period till then (i.e. 1966), by applying various techniques of knowledge processing - cataloguing, annotating, networking, and so on. Volume V in the Series *South Asian Linquistics* (1969) presents a Chapter "Sindhi" by the present author, and a section on Sindhi in the Chapter "Studies in Pakistan" by Anwar Dil.

The series has been acknowledged as having a catalystic effect for providing a useful backdrop in conducting future studies on the subject. It is indeed gratifying that the work on Sindhi has been extensively referred, and sometimes even copiously utilised in Pakistan, India and abroad.

We are glad to initiate the Heritage Series with the reproduction of this Chapter as a monograph *Sindhi Studies*: 1947-1967 to facilitate its wider access to researchers of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent. The Appendix supplements a bibliographical update of Khubchandani's contributions to the subject since 1967 till date (i. e. 2000), and presents a few excerpts citing the 'composite' ethos of the Subcontinent: language transplantation processes, plural communications and targets of language development, as a backdrop to situate Sindhi Studies in midst of a colourful mosaic of languages in South Asia as such. It further includes two critiques of Khubchandani's works, published in Pakistan: one by Hamida Khuhro (Sindh University) and another in Sindhi by *Hidayat Prem* (Institute of Sindhology, Hyderabad Sindh).

It is indeed satisfying to note that in the post-Partition milieu social scientists have been alive to various issues confronting the diffused Sindhi diaspora. The Centre for Communication Studies, in collaboration with the Sindhu Documentation Centre, plans to bring out an update of this review. As a compedium, another monograph presenting chronological annotations on Sindhi Studies is in final stages. Preparation of an edited volume "Sindhi diaspora in a global perspective" is also at an advanced stage. We earnestly hope recent strides in Inforamation Technology will provide further impetus to explore new techniques of knitting together the vision of Sindhi *biraadari*.

The Volume is dedicated to the memory of Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, who apart from being an astute politician fighting for the country's freedom, retained his moorings of a gentle scholar with a towering vision.

We acknowledge with thanks a modest grant received from the Indus Education Foundation Pune to make this compilation possible.

Pune
14 September 2000

Lachman M. Khubchandani

Preface

LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI

Linguistic studies on Sindhi have a tradition going back to the middle of the nineteenth century which produced great scholars like Stack and Trumpp in the fields of lexicography and grammar.

Prior to the British conquest of Sind in 1843, Sindhi was the language of common life but not considered a fit vehicle of learning. Persian was the language of administration and learning. Use of the Sindhi language, written in several varieties of Devanagari, Gurmukhi, Arabic and Persian scripts, was restricted to trade, literature, and a few Hindu and Muslim religious writings.

The policy of the British rulers to run their administration in the native language was instrumental in standardizing one modified Perso-Arabic script for Sindhi out of the diverse usages among different sections and in preparing teaching materials, grammars, and dictionaries of Sindhi for European officials during the later half of the nineteenth century.

During the present century, linguistic studies on Sindhi have been developing along more-or-less the same lines as Indian linguistics in general. Grierson's *LSI* (1903-28), presenting brief accounts of different dialects of all modern Indian languages, is an achievement unparalleled in this country even today.

The partition of the Indian sub-continent into two sovereign states — India and Pakistan — in 1947 brought radical changes in the study of the Sindhi language. Sind now forms part of West Pakistan. The partition led to migration of the Hindus from Sind to India, with the result that educational and scholarly activity in Sindhi, in which Hindus had a major role to play, was disrupted and a number of well established scholars of the language were dispersed. After the turmoil of partition subsided, a number of young Sindhi scholars in Pakistan and in India have demonstrated their ability in the field and are looking at the linguistic tasks in a new perspective.

There has been considerable increase in linguistic activity on Sindhi in the last decade in both Pakistan and India. Hitherto publications on language have been mostly up to private initiative and a pastime of literary-minded researchers. In post-independence South Asia, language consciousness has come very much to the fore on the social and political scene; many publications on language are mushroom-

ing up because of this. The quality of such materials, however, in most cases, does not stand up to the requirements of the time. Most of these publications lack objectivity, clear perspective and organisation. A few researchers of the old philological school, who are mostly literary writers and historians rather than linguists, remain true to their training, tracing the origin and development of the language. Some of them, on the basis of a few seals obtained by excavation of the pre-historic sites at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind, indulge in fanciful claims tracing Sindhi as the fountain source of at least all Indian languages!

In India, the fresh controversy over Perso-Arabic and Devanagari script for the language and the claim for the inclusion of Sindhi as one of the literary languages in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution[1] has drawn the attention of a number of political leaders and literary writers in Sindhi towards the lexical and grammatical characteristics (claimed to be rich treasures) of the language. But, due to lack of scientific background, most of these works touch only the fringes of the problems.

Now a few research institutes and universities in India and Pakistan have taken an interest in the task and through them a scholarly generation is to succeed these emotion-drawn cultural leaders. The bulk of linguistic research in Pakistan is connected directly with the activities of the University of Sind and the Sindhi Adabi Board through reprinting of old works on grammar and history of the language, translation of old Persian and Arabic texts concerning the history of the Sindhi people and their language, and compilation of folklore and dictionaries. Recently an Institute of Sindhology has been established at the University of Sind to promote these activities. In India, the Department of Sindhi Linguistics at the Center of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, provides opportunities for training in modern techniques to research scholars and places emphasis on the description of contemporary Sindhi and on the study of dynamic change in the language under the laboratory conditions of post-partition India, in which Sindhi is being cultivated in multilingual surroundings. In recent years, public organizations like Sindhu Khojina Kendra at Poona and Sindhu Research Society at Delhi have been conducting seminars on the Sindhi language and culture in an effort to mobilise the energies of scholars interested in the advancement of Sindhi Studies in India.

Linguistic literature on Sindhi is written chiefly in English and Sindhi, less often in Hindi and Urdu. This literature has been treated in the following sections: 1. Writing system, 2. Phonology, 3. Grammar, 4. Dialect studies, 5. Language in contact, 6. Lexicography, 7. Comparative and historical studies, 8. Teaching material, 9. Folklore, and 10. General linguistics in Sindhi. In each section a brief survey of the works published before 1947 has been given before dealing with the works published during the last two decades.

[1] Since April 1967, Sindhi has been recognized as one of the fifteen national languages of India, with the unanimous approval of the Parliament incorporating Sindhi in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

1. WRITING SYSTEM

At the time of the British conquest of Sind, different forms of the written language were in use varying according to locality and social group. Stack, in his *Grammar of the Sindhi Language* (1853), referred to various forms of Devanagari and Luṇḍā scripts prevalent at that time in Sind among Hindu traders and Ismaili Muslims: Khudāwādī, Shikārpurī, Sākhrū, Ṭhaṭṭaī, Lāṛāī, Wāngāī, Rājāī, Khuwājikō, Memaṇiko, Sewhāṇī Bhābhirā. Besides, modified Perso-Arabic characters, called Ab-ul-Ḥassan Sindhi, and Gurmukhi characters were also being used for Sindhi literary and religious writings.

The British decision in 1851 to run their administration in the native language was instrumental in evolving one script for Sindhi in the midst of diverse usages. It was quite difficult to formulate a unified system of writing when the rulers themselves were holding different opinions regarding accepting modified Perso-Arabic or Devangari script for the language. Luṇḍā was rejected because it did not indicate vowels. Burton strongly advocated the adoption of the Arabic alphabet with certain additions to indicate Sindhi sounds. But Stack contended for the adoption of one or another form of the Devanagari alphabet with similar modifications. With the pressure from Muslims and Persian-oriented Hindu scholars, Devanagari script was ultimately rejected and Ellis, with the assistance of some native scholars, devised an alphabet extending the 29 Arabic letters to 52 (Aitken, 1907, pp. 472-476). Certain Arabic characters were loaded with dots to express the sounds peculiar to Sindhi: Arabic ت t modified as ٹ, ٽ and ٺ to express th, ţ and ţh respectively; Arabic ج j and Persian چ č modified as ڄ, ڇ and ڃ to express čh, implosive ʃ and ñ respectively. Soon after, school books were prepared in that script. But the use of Devanagari and Gurmukhi as well as of Luṇḍā scripts continued for commercial, religious, and personal purposes. Still a few rural schools continued to teach Sindhi in Devanagari or Gurmukhi characters (Aitken, 1907, pp. 478-479).

Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Sindhi language* (1872), criticizing the adoption of Perso-Arabic characters for the Sindhi language, remarked "No alphabet suits the Sindhī better than the Sanskrit alphabet, the Sindhī being a genuine daughter of Sanskrit and Prākrit" (p.1). Commenting on Ellis' modified Perso-Arabic characters, he pointed out that the method of dotting the nearest corresponding Arabic letters has not been very satisfactory. Moreover this method has not been extended to all sounds systematically. "The way in which this has been done in Hindustanī is far more correct, in fact, the only course, which can be taken in adapting the Arabic letters to an Indian language" (p. 3.); e.g. Arabic ب b modified as ٻ bh in Sindhi and ڀ bh in Urdu, whereas Arabic ج j modified as ڇ jh in both Sindhi and Urdu. He suggested 17 alternate letters for Sindhi sounds on the lines of modification carried out in Hindustani i.e. Urdu (p. 7). Mirza Qaleech Beg and Bherumal Mehrchand agreed with Trumpp's approach. But because of the official recognition of Ellis' adoption of Perso-Arabic characters, that system ultimately prevailed.

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In 1888 Educational Inspector Jacob and again in 1915 Jagannath made efforts to standardize certain spellings (Allana, 1964c, pp. 46-47), but a lot of discrepancies in assigning diacritical marks were still noticed in the writings of different authors, as the committee devising the characters peculiar to Sindhi did not lay down any rules for using diacritical marks. This gave rise to a controversy in 1939-40 when Daudpota advocated the use of diacritical marks on conventional lines as in vogue for the Arabic language, whereas Jethmal Parsram and Mangharam Malkani (1945) contended that such markers should be used only when necessiated by pronunciation in the Sindhi language.

After migrating to India, the movement of reviving the Sindhi-Devanagari script of the language for educational and literary purposes has gained ground. The Government of India's position has remained neutral in this case. It recognises both, Perso-Arabic and Devanagari, scripts for the language. Consequently, some schools and colleges in India have introduced the teaching of Sindhi in Devanagari characters. Certain selected literary works have been transliterated into Devanagari script.

The script reform movement has sharply divided Sindhi public opinion. The orthodox supporters of one or the other script employ every possible argument to defend their views and current practices. The emphasis on scripts is partly a result of doctrinal thinking about writing. They make much of the argument that without use of either one or the other script the language will meet disaster.

A sizeable literature has been published on this controversy in various journals. All this ferment has brought the problems of language study to the forefront of attention in the educational area. Ghanshyam Shivdasani (1963), Loknath Jetley (1959), and Tarachand Gajra (1966), representing the feelings of the revivalist movement, argue for reviving Devanagari script for Sindhi primarily on the grounds that Sindhi belongs to the Indic family of languages and all Indic languages use one or the other form of Devanagari writing. The revival of Devanagari characters for Sindhi by a section of immigrants has been met with strong reaction from certain literary and educational circles who favour the retention of Perso-Arabic writing for Sindhi from the point of view of preserving the Sindhi literature. Tirth 'Vasant' (1958), Lekhraj 'Aziz' (1959), and Wadhwani (1962) have argued the aspirations of this section. Khubchandani (1959a) has pleaded for a rational stand in this controversy and has advocated the use of both scripts for the Sindhi language in Indian surroundings. As Sindhi immigrants are scattered in different States and the facilities for learning Devanagari script (through Hindi) exist throughout India, it would be convenient to use Devanagari characters for Sindhi. For those specializing in literature, the knowledge of Perso-Arabic writing would be essential to keep in touch with the literary trends in Pakistan.

In India efforts are made to standardize Devanagari spellings for Sindhi. Jhamatmal Bhavnani (1957) has attempted to provide standard spellings on the basis of actual pronunciation. But a few very factual errors occur in the work because of traditional philological notions. Allana (1964c), agitated by the pro-Devanagari

movement for Sindhi in India, has given a vivid account of the development of the present Perso-Arabic writing system of Sindhi. He has also pointed out the inconsistencies, still prevalent, in assigning the diacritical marks in Perso-Arabic writing and has provided certain spelling rules based on pronunciation (pp. 43-63). Khubchandani has prepared a monograph on the writing system of Sindhi which is awaiting publication. In this the rules of spelling Sindhi words in Perso-Arabic and Devanagari writings have been framed on the basis of the morphophonemic structure of the language.

2. PHONOLOGY

The earliest accounts of the Sindhi language available to us are by European scholars. The pronunciation of Sindhi sounds attracted the attention of Stack and other grammarians primarily to explain the pronunciation of implosive stops /ɓ ɗ ʄ ɠ/ as distinct from their corresponding explosive stops /b ḍ ǰ g/. The contrast between pressure and suction in the stop series is a unique characteristic of Sindhi, Lahnda, Gujerati, Rajasthani, and Bengali in the Indo-Aryan family of languages (Chatterjee, 1931).

These sounds were first described by Stack (1853) in a general fashion, written as g̲ j̲ ḍ̲ b̲; "g̲ has a strange sound, formed by placing the tongue against the palate, keeping the mouth open and sounding from the throat; j̲ has a peculiar sound only to be acquired by practice; ḍ̲ is a harsh ḍ... sounded from palate and throat combined; b̲ has a peculiar sound."

Later Trumpp (1861) gave an interesting account of these sounds, though he had difficulty in identifying explosive and implosive differences. "g̲ is a peculiar hard g, that is difficult to describe; the speaker shuts his mouth and presses up a muffled sound (drückt einen dumpfen Laut herauf); then opens his mouth and lets out the sound g. This procedure is very like the cry (mückern) of a goat or the bleat of a sheep ... j̲ is pronounced as dy ... ḍ̲ is a very hard cerebral ḍ and is produced in the same way as g̲ ... b̲ is pronounced in the same way as g̲ and ḍ̲." Grierson (1919) also provided vague descriptions of these sounds: "They are pronounced with a certain stress, prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, and are, in fact, sounded as double letters are pronounced in other parts of India, but occur at the beginning of a word" (p. 22).

Bailey (1922) was the first philologist to speak of them as "implosives", taking note of the fact that the breath is drawn in instead of being expelled. Turner (1923) described fully the formation and the origin of these sounds and, following Troubetzkoy's use of the term "rekursiv" while describing the sounds of Caucasian languages (*BSL* 72.204), calls them recursives. While tracing the development of these sounds in Sindhi, he states that these originally were gg, jj, ḍḍ, bb and between the time of Aśokan inscriptions and the first century A.D. these developed as independent sound units. Chatterjee in a series of tentative "Phonetic transcriptions from Indian languages" gave a short transcription from Sindhi (1922), in which he described these sounds as "stops with glottal closure".

In recent years Bordie (1958) at the University of Texas and Khubchandani (1961) at the University of Pennsylvania conducted spectrographic analyses to look into the acoustic features of Sindhi implosive sounds. Both have made similar observations regarding this phenomenon in their accounts of the phonology of Sindhi; "the duration of the voicing of implosive stop is much shorter than that of the corresponding explosive stop. But the implosive stop has much greater intensity or loudness than the corresponding explosive" (Khubchandani, 1961, p. 11).

Giving the articulatory description of Sindhi implosives, Khubchandani (1966b) states "that by lowering the larynx a partial vacuum is created and outside air is sucked in to break the occlusion of lip or tongue and simultaneously the glottis is put in vibrating position to permit the formation of voicing."

At the time of devising a modified Perso-Arabic alphabet for Sindhi, the observations regarding the pronunciation of Sindhi have been very much confused with the written symbols of the alphabet. Trumpp in his *Grammar* (1872), presenting a brief sketch of the pronunciation of Sindhi sounds, shows good insight in distinguishing a letter from its pronunciation. Grierson also briefly deals with the pronunciation of Sindhi in the *LSI* (1919), primarily based on Trumpp's account.

After a long pause, the fresh script controversy over Sindhi-Arabic and Sindhi-Devanagari characters has attracted many scholars in India towards the phonetic description of the language in order to plead for one or the other script. Most of them have no grounding in linguistics and either they do not distinguish or very much confuse the letters and sounds of the language. It is very recent that Sindhi linguists are making efforts to use modern linguistic methods in their research. Now, instead of pronunciation, the phonological system of the language is discussed. Bordie's *A descriptive Sindhi phonology* (1958) and Khubchandani's *The phonology and morphophonemics of Sindhi* (1961) are the first phonological descriptions in which phonemes and allophones are strictly distinguished. For the first time suprasegmental features have received scientific treatment. Bordie's phonetic description is based largely on spectrographic analysis. He postulates stress as phonemic, which explains the characteristic of length in Sindhi vowels. Khubchandani prefers to posit ten vowels, grouped into two classes — 3 vowels which are phonetically short and 7 vowels which are phonetically long — and states the rules predicting the occurrence of stress in the language, in tune with the phonological pattern of most other Indo-Aryan languages.

Baloch (1962), while tracing the history of the language, deals with the pronunciation of Old Sindhi, in which he confuses sounds with letters and goes to the extent of making the statement that there were no vowels in Old Sindhi (p. 22). His account is obviously influenced by Luṇḍā characters and the Arabic orthography in which writing of diacritical marks representing vowels is optional. Allana (1964c), while pleading for standardizing diacritical marks in the Sindhi-Arabic alphabet, enthusiastically attempts to frame ad hoc rules of syllabification but these do not agree

with the overall structure of the language, which has rightly been pointed out by Jatoi (1966). Allana, in his recent paper published in *Saughāta* (1966c), treats mh nh ṇh lh ṛh as unit phonemes on the pattern of aspirated stops — kh dh etc., whereas their distribution pattern and frequency of occurrence is similar to non-vocalic clusters; hence Khubchandani (1963a, p. 89) treats ɗ m n ṇ l r ṛ v accompanied by /h/ as non-vocalic clusters. Khubchandani, in his *Sound structures* (being published), treats /y v h/ as semi-vowels. Recently Ruplin and Steinmetz (1967) have presented a brief account of Sindhi phonology on a transformational-generative model for the first time.

Khubchandani's monograph *Sound structures of Sindhi and Hindi* is ready for publication; it aims at presenting a contrastive statement of the phonological structures of both languages with a view to enabling language teachers to teach correct Hindi pronunciation for Sindhi students with least effort. Khubchandani's two papers "Stress in Sindhi" read at the Kurukshetra Seminar (1963c) and "Juncture in Sindhi" read at the Poona Seminar (1964a) are also awaiting publication.

3. GRAMMAR

Descriptions of the language written by Prinsep (1835), Ramos (1836) and Wathen (1836) are first attempts, hence inaccurate and meagre in their material. Capt. Stack (1853), Moonshi Oodharam (1857) and Meean Mohamed and Moonshi Pribhdas' (1860) grammars of Sindhi are quite authentic and meritorious works, primarily meant for teaching the language to European officers and missionaries. These cover general grammatical description and hints for pronunciation in pedagogical tradition.

But the first detailed grammar was written by Trumpp in 1872. The author claims that this work is an endeavour to render the grammar as complete as possible. He rightly expresses his fear that for beginners his account gives too much rather than too little. His treatment of grammar is very exhaustive. Every statement is authenticated by quotation from his edition of *Shah-jo-Risalo* (1866), a classical work of the 18th century "Sufi" poet, Shāh Abdul Latif. This includes various outmoded forms prevalent in 18th century Sindhi as well. His treatment in many respects is in accordance with the pattern of Sanskrit grammar, starting with nine morphosyntactic classes — nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, conjunctions, and interjections. His work is extremely instructive in dealing with the conjugation of verbs and the formation of verbal phrases by means of auxiliary verbs to express widely different modalities. His work is still valuable today.

In his *Grammar*, Trumpp also presents the first sketch of Sindhi syntax. He deals with syntax in two sections—analytical and syntactical. The first section actually deals with the semantic analysis of every part of speech, whereas the second section explains the nature of concordance and expansion of subject and predicate in Sindhi.

Soon after, Ali Kuli Faridun Beg (1883), Seymour (1884), Dulhamal Bulchand (1901) and others published grammars to be used as teaching manuals for Europeans. Vasnani (1892) was the first author to write the grammar in the Sindhi language.

Grierson's *LSI* (1903-28) is an achievement unparalleled in this country even to this day. In Volume VIII he presents an account of standard Sindhi, specifically the Vicholi dialect, and also brief statements of grammatical peculiarities along with specimens of Sindhi dialects. It also contains a list of words and sentences showing variations in different dialects. His analysis of standard Sindhi is based primarily on Trumpp's model but his statements are supported by examples from colloquial speech. Dealing with verb conjugation, he differs from Trumpp's analysis. He divides Sindhi verbs into two morphological classes: *-e* conjugation and *-u* conjugation on the basis of different sets of inflection. Trumpp, though he divides Sindhi verbs into two syntactic classes — neuter (intransitive) and active (transitive), does not recognize different classes at the morphological level. Trumpp (1872) states, "there is only one class of verbs in Sindhi, as all verbs with a slight difference, are inflected alike and a considerable number of active verbs which carry different inflections are dealt with as exceptions" (pp. 250-251). Grierson in the *LSI* (Volume VIII), postulates five cases — nominative, oblique, organic ablative, organic locative and vocative — for Sindhi, but at the same time recognizes eight Sanskrit-like cases with postpositions (pp. 24-30).

As literacy spread, various native scholars wrote grammars in the Sindhi language, giving pedagogical treatment and furnishing fresh data from modern Sindhi with elaborate statements for the use of students. Qaleech Beg's grammar in four parts (1916-21), dealing with morphology, syntax and rhetoric, is a significant contribution in the field. His account of Sindhi syntax is mainly based on Arabic, Persian and English rules of syntax. Grammars of Bherumal Mehrchand (1925-6), Haskell (1942) and Dayaram Mirchandani (Part I-1943, Part II-1945) are also quite authentic works. Mirchandani's revised grammar (1965) is the first work published in Sindhi-Devanagari characters. After Qaleech Beg's work on rhetorics (1921a) based on Persian prosody, the field of metrics has been covered by Bhavnani (1953) and Jotwani (1962) on the lines of Hindi prosody.

In recent years Khubchandani has introduced modern descriptive techniques in grammatical descriptions. His study *Acculturation of Indian Sindhi to Hindi* (1963a) covers a brief contrastive account of Sindhi and Hindi parts of speech. Khubchandani's papers on the study of pronominal suffixes (1962e), negative transformations (1962f) and noun-declensions in Sindhi (1964b) are first attempts applying modern techniques. Recently Sindhi scholars in Pakistan — Allana, Siraj, Joyo — have written a few papers on grammatical peculiarities of the language in Sindhi literary journals. In India, M. Jetley wrote a dissertation, *Morphology of Sindhi* (1965), in which he attempts a detailed analysis of the inflectional structure of words and gives a classification of inflected as well as uninflected words. It also gives an inventory of derivational prefixes and suffixes in the language. Though it is clothed in the

phraseology of descriptive linguistics, the presentation of the material is very much influenced by Trumpp's traditional morphosyntactic treatment of the language which has resulted in many inconsistencies. The data is classified essentially on the model of Trumpp's nine parts of speech in which syntactic criteria are applied implicitly in defining word classes. No consistent criterion has been applied in distinguishing substantives from numerals and pronouns. Inflected postpositions and adverbs have been treated under the section of uninflected words because of syntactic pressures. The treatment of transitive and intransitive verbs as morphological classes confuses the presentation, with the result that 71 verbs have been listed as having irregular inflection (pp. 114-116). In spite of all these methodological slips, the structural account of word-formation supported with exhaustive data merits the close attention of scholars. In recent months Egorova (1966) from the Institute of the Peoples of Asia Moscow, has published a brief account of Sindhi pronunciation and grammar in Russian, in the Languages of Asia and Africa series.

Recently the Department of Sindhi Linguistics at Deccan College has undertaken the project of preparing a reference grammar of Sindhi.

4. DIALECT STUDIES

Sindhi linguistics is still in its infancy as far as dialect study is concerned. Grierson in the *LSI* (1919) gives a brief sketch of five Sindhi dialects in which he presents three specimens of Vicholi (standard variety), three of Tharelī, two of Kachchhi and one each of Lāṛī and Lāsī. He does not find much difference between the specimens of Siro and Vicholi. Hence he does not agree with the traditionally accepted view of treating Siro as a distinct dialect, but considers it to be a sub-variety of Vicholi. Bherumal (1941) and Pandit Jetley (1957) also include a brief account of the linguistic peculiarities of various dialects of Sindhi, primarily based upon Grierson's *LSI*.

No serious study has been made of any dialect of Sindhi except Kachhi (Grierson-Kachchhi). Theoretical problems of dialectology have not yet attracted the attention of Sindhi scholars.

Most of the works of the classical Sufi poet, Shah Abdul Latif (1689-1752) are written in the Lāṛī dialect. Hence the linguistic peculiarities of Lāṛī received the attention of literary critics editing Shah's works: Trumpp (1866), Lilaram Watanmal (1890), Gurbuxani (1923-31), Kalyan Advani (1958), Shahwani (1960) and others. In recent years Baloch in *B'elāyun jā b'ola* (1951) and Sandeelo in *Veenjhāra* (1951) and *Sindhu-jo-sīngāru* (1956) discuss Lāsī and Tharī folklore respectively along with their dialectal peculiarities.

A few works on Kachhi folklore, idioms and proverbs and religious writings of Ismaili Muslims are available in Gujerati or Sindhi-Khwājiko characters. A few attempts have been made to devise a new Kachhi-Hindi script and to give a gram-

matical description of the dialect. In this respect a bilingual Kachhi-Gujerati lexicon of Pandya (1885) is noteworthy.

Although, linguistically, Kachhi is a dialect of Sindhi and the standard dialect, Vicholi, is intelligible to a Kachhi speaker, he does not make an effort to imitate the prestige dialect of Sindhi, because of the political and social separation of Sind and Kutch regions and considers himself closer to a Gujerati speaker. Now with the partition of the Indian sub-continent, the Sind-Kutch border forms the international boundary demarcating Pakistan and India on the western side. Now Sind forms a part of West Pakistan and Kutch belongs to Gujerat State in India.

In recent years modern techniques have been applied in Kachhi Studies. Khubchandani's paper "Kachha jũn jātyũn ain b'olyũn" (1962-63) surveys the Kutch region and briefly describes varieties of Kachhi — Māṇḍvī (proper Kachhi), B'anī (closer to Lāṛī Sindhi) and Vāgḍī (closer to Gujerati). Acharya's "Segmental phonemes of Kachhi" (1964) is the first phonological description written on modern lines. Rohra's dissertation, *Descriptive analysis of Kachi* (1966), is the first detailed study of any non-standard Sindhi dialect. In this work he tries to provide a description of the phonology and morphology of the Māṇḍvī variety of Kachhi. It also contains a brief account of the compound verbs and the indeclinables. Rohra's morphological account of Kachhi is very much influenced by Trumpp's traditional morphosyntactic description of Sindhi. His account of Kachhi adjectives appears to be full of contradictions. At one place he treats "adjective" as a syntactic rather than morphological form-class (p. 101) and gender as derivative category for denoting adjective (p. 102), but at another place he shows that the declension of adjectives is not identical with that of substantives; hence adjectives form a separate morphological form-class, gender, number, and case of declinable adjectives are inflectional categories, and out of 12 inflectional suffix markers 6 are masculine and 6 feminine (p. 105).

It is interesting to note that the varieties of Kachhi which are closer to Gujerati retain a lesser number of implosives and nasal phonemes than other dialects of Sindhi: The B'anī variety includes all four implosives /ɓ ɗ ʃ ɠ/ and five nasals /m n ɳ ñ ṅ/ as in Standard Sindhi. But the Māṇḍvī variety has only two implosives /ɓ ɗ/ and four nasals /m n ɳ ṅ/ and the Vāgḍī variety has only one implosive /ɓ/ and three nasals /m n ɳ/.

5. LANGUAGE IN CONTACT

Sind, situated astride some of the major approaches to North Western South Asia, had been a much frequented invasion route and served as a gateway to emigrants from the North-West — Greeks, Sythians, Arabs, Turks etc. It has been a meeting ground of different cultures. Due to the Muslim influence since the 8th century A.D., the Sindhi vocabulary and grammar is saturated with Arabic and Persian elements in

roughly similar proportion as English is with French. Besides, with the persistent influence of Hinduism, the Bhakti Movement and the spread of the Sikh faith (15th-18th centuries) and with the cultural impact of British rule during the one hundred years before 1947 and the influence of modern technical advancement in both Pakistan and India, Sindhi includes a large stock of borrowings from Urdu-Hindi, Sanskrit and English as a pan-Indian characteristic. During the first half of the present century, various native scholars — Qaleech Beg (1921b), Fateh Mohd. Sehwani (1940), Bherumal Mehrchand (1941), while presenting a historical account of the language, enumerated various loan words from Perso-Arabic sources, European stock (mainly English and Portuguese) and Sanskrit. But no serious study of the process of borrowing in the language was ever attempted before 1947.

Khubchandani, influenced by the theories of linguistic acculturation of Haugen and Weinreich, presented in his dissertation (1963a) an account of the linguistic aspects of the acculturation of Indian Sindhi when its speakers come in contact with the Hindi language. The migration of Sindhi Hindus to India at the time of partition offers a unique situation for the study of dynamic change in the Sindhi language under laboratory conditions in which one can actually study the nature of interaction between the speakers of other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages and Sindhi speaking immigrants and the results which follow from that. In the dissertation, the linguistic mechanisms and results of interference of Hindi with Sindhi have been thoroughly investigated. All borrowings have been classified roughly following Haugen's model. The phonological, morphophonemic and grammatical substitution process of loan words has been discussed in detail. Looking at the development of the Sindhi language in socio-cultural contact during the present century, it appears that Sindhi has great susceptibility towards borrowings from different languages, showing two prominent drifts in its style: classicalization and modernization. Indian Sindhi, under the influence of Sanskrit and Hindi, is drifting towards tatsamization in order to conform with pan-Indian characteristics. This process has greatly affected the phonological, grammatical and lexical pattern of the language.

Khubchandani discusses two different drifts which have introduced a conspicuous breach in the Pakistani and Indian-Sindhi styles. During the first half of the present century, the language of literature and formal discourse was very much saturated with Perso-Arabic influences. Now the language of post-partition Sind (West Pakistan) continues to lean heavily towards Perso-Arabic and Urdu styles to identify itself with Islamic culture; whereas in Indian Sindhi the use of unassimilated Perso-Arabic elements has been considerably reduced in the colloquial as well as in the written language. Allana, in his thesis (1964a), has discussed at length the Arabic elements in Sindhi. Khubchandani's paper "The gender of English loan words in Sindhi" (1967) discusses the semantic and structural factors determining gender.

In the introduction to his dissertation (1963a), Khubchandani has also made a preliminary study of the social function of Sindhi in multilingual India, conditions and types of contact with other predominant languages, the development of various types of

bilingualism, and the phenomena of code-switching among Sindhi immigrants in India. Census surveys conducted every ten years in India and Pakistan have been furnishing district-wise data on bilingualism. The 1931 Census shows that there was only 1.1 percent of bilingualism among Sindhi speakers in Sind. But in the 1961 Census reports of Maharashtra State, 47 percent of Sindhi immigrants have been recorded as bilinguals. Among these bilinguals, conspicuously Hindi is the first subsidiary language of 59 percent, English of 33.5 percent, Marathi, the language of the region, of only 5.1 percent.

6. LEXICOGRAPHY

During the rule of the Talpur dynasty (1783-1843 A.D.) brief manuscripts of Persian-Sindhi and Sindhi-Persian dictionaries had been compiled by energetic administrators for individual or court use in Persian and Gurmukhi letters (Jairamdas Doulatram in "Preface" to Deepchandra et al., 1962, pp. iii-iv). But publications in this field were first introduced by British rulers. In the middle of the last century, attempts were made to prepare small lexicons mainly to meet the needs of foreign students of the language. Small vocabularies of Sindhi prepared by Wathen (1836) and Eastwick (1843) are the first available works in this field. These were published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Leech also prepared a vocabulary of seven Indo-Aryan languages including Sindhi for the Government of Bombay in 1843.

But, in the real sense, the beginning of Sindhi lexicography is linked to the name of the gifted but unfortunately prematurely deceased Capt. Stack, Deputy Collector of Hyderabad (Sind), who compiled two bilingual dictionaries — *English-Sindhi* and *Sindhi-English* — on the lines of Kennedy's *English-Marathi dictionary* (1824). The first *Dictionary* was published by him in 1849 and the second one was published by Ellis in 1855, after the author's death. Ellis, in the preface, points out that the preparation of this *Dictionary* was, to a great extent, the cause of his fatal illness. In these works Sindhi vocables are written in Devanagari characters. The *Sindhi-English dictionary* contains approximately 17,000 Sindhi vocables. It also identifies loan words from Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic sources. These dictionaries do not claim to be exhaustive and are prepared with the requirements of European learners in view.

After Stack's monumental work, there have been a few publications of revised and enlarged editions of bilingual lexicons in Perso-Arabic characters among which Paranjpye (1868) and Khilnani's (1904) *English-Sindhi dictionary* and Shirt and Oodharam Thanvardas' *Sindhi-English dictionary* (1879) are noteworthy. Akhund Abdur Rahim Abbasi's *Jawāhir-ul-lughāt*, a Sindhi-Persian dictionary, was also compiled at the same time but this scholarly work remained in manuscript form and was never published. At the turn of the century, Parmanand Mewaram's two works — *Sindhi-English dictionary* (1910) and *English-Sindhi dictionary* (1933) — are leading

contributions in the field of lexicography. Until now these were considered standard works in the language. Shirt's *Dictionary* consists of approximately 21,000 Sindhi words and Parmanand's *Sindhi-English dictionary* contains about 25,000 Sindhi vocables. Two large Sindhi to Sindhi dictionaries, one compiled by Sahijram and another by Lala Hassanand well before partition, are still in manuscript form.

Besides these larger dictionaries, several concise ones, meant for the use of students, have been appearing during recent decades. In this respect Shahani's two works — *Sindhi-English* and *English-Sindhi dictionaries* — are noteworthy. After partition, Ibin-Alyas published *Naeen Urdu-Sindhi Lughāt* (1950) and Ghulam Rasul Shah published *Sindhi-English dictionary* (1957), both from Hyderabad (Sind). The Sindhi Abadi Board in Pakistan has also published a *Sindhi-Urdu dictionary* (1959) (containing about 24,000 Sindhi words) and an *Urdu-Sindhi dictionary* (1960) (containing about 20,000 Urdu words) for students, under the editorship of Nabi Bux Khan Baloch and Ghulam Mustafa Khan. Memon Abdul Hussain made a beginning of trilingual dictionaries with *Pak-triplet dictionary* (1959), covering English, Sindhi and Urdu. In India, Deepchandra et al. have published a trilingual *Hindi-English-Sindhi dictionary* (1962) on the lines of Bhargava's *Hindi-English dictionary* (1946). It contains about 40,000 Hindi vocables and is meant primarily for students. Sindhi equivalents are written in Devanagari characters. Because of the lack of standardization of Devanagari spellings for Sindhi, the authors have been trapped using different spellings for the same word. Harisinghani and Khubchandani have compiled the Sindhi Section of the *Bhāratīya vyavahāra kośa*, edited by Naravane (1961), which represents a classified vocabulary of about 3,000 words and conversational illustrations covering about 500 sentences in sixteen Indian languages.

A project of compiling a comprehensive Sindhi to Sindhi dictionary, begun well before the upheaval in 1947 of the former province of Sind, is still in the making. After partition, this project has been taken over by the Sindhi Adabi Board in Pakistan. The Board has a plan to publish this work in five volumes. The first volume of the *Dictionary*, edited by Baloch, was published in 1960. It covers only the first three letters of the Perso-Arabic alphabet — ا ب پ — and consists of approximately 16,000 vocables. This long expected work, though quite exhaustive, covering words and idioms from all walks of life, shows signs of haste in pushing it through the press. Diacritical marks have not been used with consistency. The weakest point of the *Dictionary* is the lack of consistent criteria in describing the grammatical category and meaning of various entries. At places homophonous vocables with different etymological histories have been grouped together as one entry. Etymologies of many items cannot be considered as reliable. While treating loanwords, the tendency of the compiler is to transfer all shades of meaning attributed to the entry in the source language to Sindhi, which is not the case.

In India, the Department of Sindhi Linguistics at Deccan College has undertaken a project of preparing a comprehensive Sindhi-English dictionary in 1962 with the object of providing guidance to scholars and students of languages for translation,

language learning, comparison and other linguistic pursuits. It will contain Sindhi vocables in Devanagari characters, followed by Arabic characters.

A few small compilations, giving etymologies and explanations occurring in classical poetry, appeared in later decades of the last century and in the early part of the present century. Shirt's *Akhara dhâtūn* (1866) and Jhamatmal Vasnani's *Vaitpatī kośu* (1886) indicate roots of Sindhi words cognate with Sanskrit. Bherumal Mehrchand's *Gharīb-ul-lughāt* (1907) explains the meaning of difficult words and phrases in Shah's poetry. Subsequently Qaleech Beg's *Lughāt-e-Latīfī* (1913) and *Lughāt-e-qadīmī* (1923) cover difficult words from the works of Shah and nine other Sufi poets. In recent years, Sandeelo's *Tahqeeq lughāt Sindhi* (1955) is a significant contribution to the etymological studies of native Sindhi items.

Murray's *Handbook of the geology, botany and zoology of Sind* (1880), *Plants and drugs of Sind* (1881) and *Vertebrate zoology of Sind* (1884), Qaleech Beg's work on gardening (1895), and Kotumal Advani's *Nomenclature of Sind crops* (1925) stimulated interest in compiling dictionaries of semantic domains. In this respect, Mohd. Jafar Ansari's *Farhang Jāfri* in three volumes (1946), explaining terms of Āyurved and Yūnānī medicine, is a monumental work. Among recent contributions Pandit Jetley's etymological study of personal names (1963) is noteworthy. From 1964 the Sindhu Khojina Kendra at Poona has launched a project — Akhara Chūṇda B'ārī — for compiling glossaries of semantic domains, e.g., of plants, birds, animals, agriculture, cookery, rituals, goldsmithy, carpentry, etc., in order to preserve the native Sindhi vocables before many of them get out of currency in the speech of Sindhi immigrants in multilingual surroundings in India.

A few good collections of idioms and proverbs appeared in early decades of the present century: Advani Kewalram Salamatrai's *Gul šakar* (1905), Kauromal Khilnani's *Sindhi proverbs* (1911), Qaleech Beg's *Pahākan-jī-hikmata* (1925), Bherumal Mehrchand's *Gulqand* (1928). Asghar's recent publication *Khaṭamiṭhirā* (1956) is so far the most exhaustive work on the subject. Amarlal Sadhwani's work on proverbs is being published as a serial in a Sindhi literary journal *Koonja* and is expected to be brought out in book form very shortly.

7. COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL STUDIES

Trumpp initiated studies on historical phonology of Sindhi through his two papers written in German (*ZDMG* 1861, 62) in which he discusses the relation of Sindhi to Sanskrit and Prakrit by giving phonetic correspondences. Later, in the introduction to his *Grammar* (1872), while discussing the origin and nature of the Sindhi language, he reproduces the same material for English readers and proclaims: "The Sindhi is a pure Sanskritical language, more free from foreign elements than any other of the North Indian vernaculars ... It is much more closely related to the

old Prakrit than the Marāthī, Hindī, Panjābī, and Bengālī of our days and it has preserved an exuberance of grammatical forms, for which all its sisters may well envy it" (p. I). Later Turner discusses at length the development of cerebrals in Sindhi from Primitive Indian dentals, in which he suggests that Dravidian speech habits may have affected the final direction of a tendency already existing in the language (1924). He also deals with the historical development of recursives (termed "implosives" by Bailey) in Sindhi from geminated voiced plosives (1923). No fresh study is available replacing Trumpp's and Turner's studies on historical phonology.

Beames' *Comparative grammar* (Vol. 1, 1872, Vol. 2, 1875 and Vol. 3, 1880) and Hoernle's *A comparative grammar of Gaudian languages* (1880), comparing seven Indo-Aryan languages — Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujerati, Marathi, Oriya, and Bengali — are also significant contributions to New Indo-Aryan studies in which results are put forward with clarity regarding the close affinity of modern Indo-Aryan languages. Turner's *Nepali dictionary* (1931) also uses Sindhi forms for comparative treatment. Recently Turner's *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages* (1962-66) has appeared in eleven fascicules, which is a landmark in comparative New Indo-Aryan studies.

Various works of Indian philologists — Bhandarkar (1914), Gune (1918), Chatterjee (1942), Vale (1948) and Katre (1961) — also include Sindhi among their comparative studies of New Indo-Aryan languages. Ghatage in *Historical linguistics and Indo-Aryan languages* (1962a) gives a panoramic picture of the phonological development of Indo-Aryan languages, using the material on Sindhi phonology from Khubchandani's thesis (1961). In this connection Elizarenkova of the Soviet Institute of the Peoples of Asia has also used the Sindhi material for making some typological observations about New Indo-Aryan phonology in a paper read at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Delhi (1964). Samtani (1957) has also discussed the relation of Sindhi to Sanskrit and Pali by utilising fresh material from Pali, with phonological correspondences. Khubchandani, in his recent paper read at the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan Delhi (1966a), discusses the status of phonological correspondences between Old Indo-Aryan and Sindhi and reconstructs different stages of borrowings from Sanskrit.

At present there is no earlier record of or reference to the features of the Sindhi language than Bharat Muni's *Nāṭyaśāstra* of the second century A.D., which makes mention of the languages of the people of Sindhu-Sauvira and refers to some of its features.

The language of the Saindhavas figured among the 18 "deśabhāṣās" of the country in Udyotana's *Kuvalayamālā* written in 779 A.D., edited by Upadhye (1959). This work includes short specimens of early New Indo-Aryan dialect variations, including the variety spoken by Saindhavas. Hemchandra's *Desīnāmamālā* (edited by Pischel, 1880) also includes a specimen of Sindhi.

Chatterjee (1958) referred to a Persian version of the Mahābhārata translated by Abu-l-Ḥasan in 1026 A.D. from Arabic which itself was translated from an Indian

language by Abu Ṣāliḥ. On the basis of the phonological study of the forms of the Indian names as they can be reconstructed from the Arabic transcription, Chatterjee claims that the language of the original composition may be called Old Sindhi, the Sindhi language at the time of its emergence as a New Indo-Aryan speech from Middle Indo-Aryan, prior to or round about 1000 A.D. The initial portion of the Persian version covers the early history of Sind prior to Sind's connection with the Mahābhārata heroes. Jairamdas (1958b) refers to the same version, summarised at a later date, in *Mujamil-al-Tārīkh* and on the strength of certain historical references, infers that the original Sindhi composition must be of around 300 B.C., written by a minister of the court named Sapar. Khubchandani (1959b), on the basis of the phonological reconstruction of the proper names, supports Chatterjee's conservative claim for the original composition being round about 1000 A.D.

Through certain oblique references in the historical records of Al-Biruni (11th century) and other Arab writers, it can be deduced that Sindhi was not only spoken but written as well during the 8th Century A.D. The *Quran* was first translated into Sindhi in 883 A.D. *Chachnāmā*, a Persian history of ancient Sind, written about 1216 A D., also refers to varieties of writings prevalent in Sind during the 8th-9th centuries. Recently Jairamdas (1957b) has focused attention on a specimen of 11th century Sindhi.

From the 16th century A.D. writings in Sindhi are available in the form of Sufi poetry till the beginning of prose in Sindhi in the 19th century. No serious effort has been made to analyse these works linguistically, except preparing lexicons of obsolete words in these works.

The first history of the Sindhi language is attributed to Qaleech Beg (around 1900). This work and his *Philological curiosities* (1921) contain many speculative etymologies and are weighted in favour of Arabic influence on Sindhi. In this connection Sehwani (1940) and Bherumal's (1941) historical accounts are also noteworthy.

The ancestry of the Sindhi language has been a point of debate among many language scholars.

Pischel, in *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (1900), raised this point on the basis of Mārkaṇḍeya's express statement in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* that "the Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa form of Prakrit has its origin in Sindhū Deśa". Very little is known about the Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa itself, except nine peculiarities noted by Mārkaṇḍeya. Grierson (1902) supported Mārkaṇḍeya's statement by illustrating certain Vrācaḍa characteristics in Sindhi — cerebralisation of Middle Indo-Aryan dental stops, implosive [ɗ] representing Vrācaḍa [yj], etc.. In support of his theory of Inner and Outer Indo-Aryan languages, he claimed that the modern languages of the North-West of India (including Sindhi) are intimately connected with those of the East (from Bihar to Assam).

Native writers — Bherumal (1941), Pandit Jetley (1957) and others, deal with the issue of the origin of Sindhi on the basis of Pischel and Grierson's treatment. But

Jairamdas (1957a) has compared, in detail, the Vrācaḍa characteristics as specified by Mārkaṇḍeya with modern Sindhi and has come to the conclusion that "it would not be natural to derive most of the Sindhi equivalent words and their grammatical forms from those of Vrācaḍa mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya as special to that language" (p. 56). He, therefore, does not accept Pischel and Grierson's view that Vrācaḍa was the local language of the people of the Lower Indus Valley or that the Sindhi language was derived from Vrācaḍa. He suggests that an ancient variant of the pre-Vedic period, spoken by the people of the Lower Indus Valley, has probably continued to evolve, acquiring the form of Old Sindhi in the phase of the "secondary" Prakrits.

During the present century, various Indo-Aryan scholars modified the myth that all New Indo-Aryan languages are direct descendants of Sanskrit and proved that present New Indo-Aryan languages could be traced directly from early "primary" Prakrits spoken during the Vedic period and that classical Sanskrit depicts a standardized variety of one of the later "secondary" Prakrits. Another line of investigation must be mentioned here because of the general influence it still has on the thinking of a number of Sindhi scholars i.e. the seals and clay tablets obtained by excavation of the pre-historic site at Mohen-jo-Daro near Lāṛkāṇō in Sind. These two developments in linguistics and archaeology have caught the imagination of many emotionally charged literary writers in India and Pakistan during the last ten years in the controversy on the origin of the Sindhi language. Their views are mostly based on external evidence and speculative theories. Due to lack of linguistic training and to language chauvinism, the efforts of many enthusiastic scholars have been diverted into speculative channels, raising fantastic claims regarding the unique character of the language, its antiquity, and its supposed superiority over the sister languages, while much indispensable spade-work remains to be done. Consequently most of the works in the field, published in the native language, are confused and amateurish in rendering the facts.

In India, Ruchandani, in a series of articles published in *Naeen Duniyā* (1961-62), has speculated that Sindhi is the direct descendant of the language spoken at the time of the Indus Valley civilization and during the course of history it has imbibed various characteristics of Sumerian, Semitic, and Indo-European language groups. Baloch in *Tārīk̲ha* (1962) has presented, for the first time, a number of early documents found in Sindhi archives. While tracing the history of the Sindhi language, unfortunately his attitude towards Sindhi is heavily weighted towards showing the close affinity of Sindhi with Semitic languages through arbitrary and often ludicrous etymologies. In the preface to his *Dictionary* (1960), Baloch had stated that "Sindhi is an ancient Indo-Aryan language, probably having its origin in a pre-Sanskrit Indo-Iranian Indus-Valley Language ... (it), in particular, may have imbibed some influence of the ancient language of Mohen-jo-Daro civilization having affinities with the Sumerian and Babylonian tongues" (p. 9). But in his *Tārīk̲ha* (1962), through the interpretation of various historical accounts available in Arabic on Sind, he has tried to make out a case for showing that the ancestry of Sindhi is different from other

Indo-Aryan languages, that it is closely connected with Semitic languages, and that it has remained under the heavy influence of Iranian and Dardic languages, while the Sanskrit-Prakrit languages have only insignificant influence on Sindhi (p. 12). In spite of many speculative inferences, this book contains a lot of historical information useful to those interested in Old Sindhi.

Siraj in *Sindhi b'oli* (1964), in his anxiety to connect the seals excavated at Mohen-jo-Daro (which have not yet been correctly deciphered by epigraphists) with contemporary Sindhi, has attempted to read the writings as records of Old Sindhi (pp. 119-158). How far misconception about a language can go is demonstrated in the works of Ruchandani (1963) and Siraj (1964) who ridiculously prove the correspondences of modern Sindhi vocables with Phoenician and Sumerian sources with the claim that those languages must have been influenced by Sindhi. Taking clue from Kramer's remarks on Dilmun, a Sumerian site near the Persian Gulf, Siraj concludes that the Indus Valley civilization has spread to Babylonian and Sumerian people (pp. 23-25). Etymologizing "Phoenician" as *paṇi* or *ponir* mentioned in *Ṛgveda* and then correlating it with Sindhi *vāṇyo*, Sanskrit *vaṇik* 'trader', it has been claimed that they belonged to the Sindhi stock. On the basis of Hunter's *Script of Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro* (1934), Siraj concludes that the Phoenician script is derived from Proto-Sindhian of Mohen-jo-Daro times. Under the spell of language chauvinism, Siraj and Ruchandani, very much biased to claim the heritage of the Indus Valley civilization, have identified the supposed Pre-Indo-Aryan stage anterior to Sanskrit with the proto-stage of the Sindhi language and hold that the other languages of Northern India are later off-shoots of Sindhi (Siraj, 1964, p. 27). Samrat (1966a), in his review of Siraj's work, has criticized his hypothesis regarding the seals of Mohen-jo-Daro and has affirmed the direct descendancy of Sindhi from Sanskrit; whereas Jatoi (1966), reviewing the works on Sindhi language, has supported Ruchandani and Baloch's claim regarding the origin of the language.

8. TEACHING MATERIAL

The British Rulers' directive in 1851 to all civil officials to pass an examination in colloquial Sindhi was primarily instrumental in the publication of various manuals of Sindhi. Trumpp's *Sindhi reading book* (1858) is the first manual available using both Devanagari and Arabic characters; followed by Moonshee Oodharam's *Guide* (1861). In this connection Shahani's *Sindhi instructor* (1906) is also noteworthy.

During the last two decades, learning Sindhi as a second language has received very little encouragement in Pakistan and India or outside the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Hence the material on the teaching of Sindhi has not made any progress. Mitchell has been working on the subject in London (now at Leeds) with informants from Sind. His study is yet to be published. A few years back, Minnesota University was interested in developing a Sindhi teaching program for Peace Corps volunteers

going to West Pakistan. At Hartford, Conn., Warren Webster is also engaged in preparing teaching material in Sindhi.

Recently the Sindhu Khojina Kendra at Poona convened a Seminar of Sindhi teachers at schools and colleges (1965) to discuss the problems of teaching Sindhi as mother tongue in multilingual surroundings in India. Various papers were discussed in the Seminar relating to aims of teaching Sindhi in schools, linguistic orientation of Sindhi teachers, preparation of text books, and language testing. The proceedings of the Seminar are to be published shortly.

9. FOLKLORE

Folklore studies in Sindhi are concentrated on the accumulation of data. After Hart-Davis' *Sind Ballads* (1881) and Kincaid's two works — *Tales of Old Sind* (1922) and *Folktales of Sind and Guzerat* (1925) — it is only during the last decade that some long-term projects on the publication of folklore have been initiated in both Pakistan and India. These works are not yet examined from the linguistic point of view.

Of great importance for literature as well as the history of the language is Baloch's compilation of Sindhi folktales, classified according to subject and style. The project is sponsored by the Sindhi Adabi Board and, so far, 25 volumes of folktales have been published. In India Narayan Bharati has laid emphasis on the collection of folksongs related to different rituals and cultural events among Sindhi speaking Hindus. He has, on his individual initiative, so far published 6 works dealing with folksongs and their tentative analysis. A lot of the material collected still awaits publication. In this respect, Khubchandani's paper concerning folklore and linguistics (1962a) is worthy of mention.

10. GENERAL LINGUISTICS IN SINDHI

Scientific writings on linguistics in Sindhi have not received much impetus and encouragement in either Pakistan or India, mostly because multilingual literate speakers tend to lay hands on English or Hindi-Urdu writings in the field of their interest and publishers are also more interested in the emotional aspect of language privileges.

Khubchandani's *Asānjī b'olī* (1958) was the first theoretical article defining language and explaining the distinction between "spoken" language and its extended "written" variety. It also comments on the notion of right and wrong in speech. Popati Hiranandani's *Bhāśā śāstru* (1961) is the first book introducing the subject to Sindhi readers. Though written in a quite lucid style, it is a rather amateurish attempt based, on out-dated philological writings in Hindi, and is quite confused, hence full of contradictions at various places. Khubchandani's extensive review (*Kahāṇī*, 1962) of her work briefly surveys the scope of linguistic study, definition

of language, origin and the development of language, and the process of language change, based on modern canons of the science. At the same time Jatoi (1962) also wrote a short monograph dealing with different aspects of descriptive and philological study of language. Though deficient in treating the structural elements of modern linguistics, it is a good exposition of the subject for elementary students.

In this connection Khubchandani's "Khojinā jo yugu" (1963b), an article dealing with the principles of research in language and culture and field techniques, Mohd. Ibrahim Joyo's article (1964) concerning the structure of language, and Rohra's article (1965) on defining language are worthy of mention.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The attainments and drawbacks of linguistic research on Sindhi are obvious from this survey. Research gains in the field of Sindhi linguistics have been only initial. The merit of linguistic research in Sindhi during the last two decades is in the collection of new facts. And, in this, the materials gathered and classified are indispensable. In India, at the Department of Sindhi Linguistics, Deccan College, and in Pakistan, at the Institute of Sindhology, new projects are taking shape. The next few years should see the fruits of many lexicographic, grammatical, and bilingual studies.

Much work in this field often appears in short-lived Sindhi journals which are not easily available to the author. Hence it is possible that a few items might have escaped the author's attention. But it can be hoped that, in spite of certain gaps, the survey offered here will have been adequate to demonstrate the progress made in Sindhi linguistic study, and equally the great gaps which still remain to be filled.

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LACHMAN M. KHUBCHANDANI (1932-) received his early schooling in Karachi and moved to Delhi in 1947 in the wake of the partition of the country. He did graduate work in Hindi, Philology, and Journalism at the Panjab University, Chandigarh; and as Fellow of the Language Project Poona, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Deccan College, he received advanced training in modern techniques in linguistics. As Exchange Visitor of the Association of Asian Studies, Ann Arbor, he completed his doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania, under Professor Henry Hoenigswald, with a dissertation on *The acculturation of Indian Sindhi to Hindi*, a study of bilingual contact of Sindhi immigrants in India. Since 1961, he has been on the faculty of the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona as a Reader in Sindhi Linguistics at the Center of Advanced Study in Linguistics and teaches applied linguistics at the University of Poona. He has also been a member of the faculty of the Summer Schools of Linguistics, held under the joint auspices of the University Grants Commission and the Linguistic Society of India, from 1961-68. He has been one of the Secretaries of the Linguistic Society of India from 1965-67. He is now compiling a bilingual dictionary, Sindhi-English, and preparing a reference grammar of Sindhi. His monographs on the *Sound structures of Sindhi and Hindi*, a contrastive study, and *Linguistics and language planning in India* are awaiting publication. Currently he is at the University of Zagreb as a Visiting Professor of Indian Linguistics, and is conducting a sociolinguistic study of the multilingual situation in Yugoslavia, and also preparing a manual of Spoken Hindi for Slavic students. (1969)

II. STUDIES IN PAKISTAN : SINDHI

ANWAR DIL

Preface

The purpose of this paper[1] is to provide an introduction to linguistic studies and research in Pakistan with special reference to current trends in Pakistani linguistics.

The period under review nearly covers the first twenty years of this new nation, which came into being on August 14, 1947, as a result of the demand of Indian Muslims for a separate, self-governing country in areas where they were in the majority on the sub-continent. It is said that "few countries which gained independence after World War II started with greater handicaps than Pakistan".[2] From its first introduction to the world by *Time* magazine as "an economic wreck" in 1947 to its emergence as "an example of rare success",[3] Pakistan has shown what a very poor country with extremely poor prospects can do in its struggle for survival.

Viewed in this setting it is not difficult to understand why linguistic studies per se have not been able to get the priority attention they deserve in multilingual Pakistan. which comprises areas with an ancient and respected tradition of linguistic scholarship.

Pakistani linguistics today is not an organized academic discipline; no department of linguistics exists at any Pakistani university. Recent contributions to linguistic science are not commonly known among Pakistani language scholars, and very little theoretical and experimental research is being done at present by Pakistani linguists. And yet, as I suggested above, linguistic and philological studies have always been a part of the classical academic tradition in these areas and a good deal of linguistic work, mostly geared to the task of nation-building, has been done in the

[1] The help rendered by the following colleagues in the preparation of this paper is gratefully acknowledged: Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, Dacca; Syed Ali Ahsan, Director of the Bengali Academy, Dacca; Muhammad Abdul Hai, Professor of Bengali, University of Dacca; Syed Amjad Ali, Editor, *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi; Mushfiq Khawaja, Editor, *Qaumi Zuban*, Karachi; Shanul Haqqi, Secretary, Urdu Development Board, Karachi; N. A. Baloch, Professor of Sindhi, University of Sind, Hyderabad; Haneef Ramay, Research Officer, Central Board for Development of Urdu, Lahore; Muhammad Baqir, Chairman, Panjabi Adabi Academy, Lahore; Maulana Abdul Qadir, Director, Pashto Academy, University of Peshawar; D. Y. Morgan of the British Council, London; and Stanley Elam, Editor, Phi Delta Kappa Publications, Bloomington, Indiana.

[2] Albert Waterston, *Planning in Pakistan* 8 (Baltimore, 1963).

[3] Gustav F. Papanek, *Pakistan: growth in the mixed economy* 3 (Washington D.C., 1965).

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period under review. Some of these projects deserve a close look, firstly, because they may have special significance for other developing countries, and secondly, because, as Keith Callard said, Pakistan is" often treated as an appendix to the study of India"[4] and generally speaking there is a tendency among Western scholars to bracket Pakistani languages with Indian languages. For example, in spite of the fact that more than half of the Bengali speakers live in East Pakistan the attention of scholars of Bengali is more often than not directed toward Calcutta rather than Dacca, and East Pakistan is viewed as the "cultural hinterland of Calcutta rather than as a province of Pakistan".[5]

[A. Bengali, B. Urdu, C. Punjabi, D. Pashtu,

E. Sindhi

he main centers of linguistic research on Sindhi are the Department of Sindhi at ıe University of Sind, and the Sindhi Adabi Board, both at Hyderabad.

N. A. Baloch (1917-), Professor of Sindhi and Director of the Institute of Education, University of Sind, is the leader of research activities on Sindhi language, literature, and culture. He received his doctorate degree from Columbia University in 1949. Baloch is a most productive scholar and his publications number over two dozen. In collaboration with Ghulam Mustafa Khan, he compiled the *Sindhi-Urdu dictionary* (1959) and *Urdu-Sindhi dictionary* (1961). His short history of the Sindhi language was published in 1960 by the Sindhi Adabi Board.

The Sindhi Adabi Board was established in 1951. The project of *A comprehensive Sindhi dictionary of classical and current Sindhi*, which was entrusted to the Central Advisory Board of Control for Sindhi Literature in the early forties by the provincial government of Sind and later abandoned, was taken up by the Sindhi Adabi Board. Baloch was entrusted with a three-year contract to finish the dictionary. The work started in January, 1952, but in view of the time limit imposed the entire project was revised. However, because the printing could not be started till November, 1958, the manuscript remained under constant revision during this period. This dictionary

[4] Keith Callard, "Pakistan studies in North America", *Resources for South Asian area studies in the United States* 153, ed. Richard D. Lambert (Philadelphia, 1962).
[5] Ibid. 154.

has drawn on about 450 published works representing different subjects, all the dictionaries and glossaries of the Sindhi language, unpublished literary works not covered in Mirza Qalich Beg's *Lughat-i-qadimi*,[30] lexicographical manuscripts of Akhund Abdul Rahim Abbasi, Maulvi Ali Muhammad Maheri, Lala Hasanand, and the manuscript of the abandoned dictionary, which covered the first four letters. About one hundred field workers were stationed in rural areas during the first year of the project. They collected items from the actual speech representing various dialects. The researchers travelled extensively throughout the Sindhi-speaking areas and collections were made through meetings with village elders, village poets, the *sughars* (the traditional bards and rhapsodists), farmers, artisans, etc. It may be of interest to know that the dictionary contains about 250 words and phrases connected with date-palm raising and harvesting, fifty names for sweet-water fishes, 120 names of marinefishes, more than 100 terms pertaining to the boat and its parts, 45 connected with the traditional waterwheel, etc. Baloch's valuable introduction, which describes the project in detail, is reprinted in *Studies in Pakistani linguistics* (1965).

Ali Nawaz Hajan Khan Jatoi, Reader and Head of the University Department of Sindhi, was until recently at the SOAS completing his work for a degree in general linguistics. Ghulam Ali Allana received his Master's degree in general linguistics from SOAS in 1964 and is at present associated with the Sindhi Adabi Board. His *Sindhi suratakhati* (1964) is a good introductory monograph to Sindhi philology. J. G. Bordie, an American linguist, was in Hyderabad some years back. His doctoral dissertation, *A descriptive Sindhi phonology*, completed at the University of Texas (1958), is one of the best works on Sindhi.

L. M. Khubchandani's doctoral dissertation (1963), completed at the University of Pennsylvania under the guidance of Henry M. Hoenigswald, is undoubtedly an excellent study of an interesting aspect of the post-independence language mix-up on the sub-continent. It presents the case of Sindhi immigrants from West Pakistan to India in the context of their increasing bilingualism. Khubchandani's outline contrastive sketch of Sindhi and Hindi is a valuable piece of work. His findings show that the distribution pattern of Sindhi phonemes has been affected to a considerable extent. For example, the Perso-Arabic borrowed sounds /x, ɣ, q/ are fast losing their distinctiveness, and are practically lost in the speech of the younger generation. The use of pronominal suffixes is gradually declining in formal speech. A number of Hindi prefixes and suffixes have affected the word formation pattern of Sindhi. Also word borrowings have affected the Sindhi lexicon in a number of ways: through the creation of homonymy and synonymy, the loss of existing items, the creation of translation compounds and of cognate doublets.

[30] Beg, Mirza Qalich, *Philological curiosities* (Hyderabad, Sindh, 1911); *Lughat-e-Latifi*, (Sukkur, Sindh, 1914) [A Sindhi dictionary of difficult words in the *Shah-jo-risalo* arranged according to *surs*]; *Sindhi lughat-e-Qadimi* (Hyderabad, Sindh, 1924) [*Sindhi. Dictionary of classical Sindhi words in the works of ten classical Sindhi poets].

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AUTHOR

ANWAR S. DIL (1928-) received degrees from the University of the Panjab, the University of Peshawar, and the University of Michigan. Since 1961 he has been serving as Professor and Language Specialist at the Education Extension Centre, Government of West Pakistan, Lahore. He is Founder-Director of the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan and the Pakistan Studies Group and is the author and editor of a number of books. His special interests are in sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, problems of national languages, the role of English as an official language, and strategies of educational development in Pakistan and other developing countries of Afro-Asia.

(1969)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX - A

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APPENDIX - B

LANGUAGE AND 'COMPOSITE' ETHOS

B 1: Language Transplantation Processes

THE ACCULTURATION OF INDIAN SINDHI TO HINDI :
A STUDY OF LANGUAGE IN CONTACT*

Lachman Mulchand Khubchandani, Ph. D.
Univeristy of Pennsylvania, 1963

Supervisor : Henry M. Hoenigswald

ABSTRACT

THE PRESENT STUDY seeks to present an account of the linguistic aspects of the acculturation of Indian Sindhi when its speakers come in contact with the Hindi language. Sindhi is spoken by about 8 million people in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In 1947 when India was partitioned into two sovereign states - India and Pakistan, a great number of Sindhi Hindus migrated from Sind, which now forms a part of West Pakistan, to India. This migration offers scope for the study of dynamic change in the Sindhi language under laboratory conditions, as it were.

The "Introduction" (Chapter 0) mainly outlines the basic theory of linguistic acculturation and gives the background of the Sindhi and Hindi languages as to their population, historical influences and literary development. The study provides a general account of the "Contact Situation" (Ch. 1) of the Sindhi immigrants and the results of increasing bilingualism among them in post-partition India.

Both Sindhi and Hindi are Indic (Indo-Aryan) languages and in their phonic and grammatical domains, are similar to a great extent. "A Comparative Sketch of Sindhi and Hindi" (Ch. 2) touches upon the salient features of the phonology and the morphology of both the languages to account for the subsequent interference in Sindhi from Hindi.

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* Reprinted from ***Dissertation Abstract*** Volume XXV, No. 1, 1964. University Microfilm Incorp., Ann Arbor, Michigan. Microfilm $ 4.20; Xerography $ 14.85. 326 pages (Order No. 64 - 7380).

"The Linguistic Mechanisms of Interference" (Ch. 3) of Hindi into Sindhi have been investigated by classifying Hindi borrowings according to the substitution and importation types of linguistic reproduction roughly based on Haugen's model. These borrowings have been classified into three categories : Loan words (pure loan words and loan blends), loan shifts (grammatical adaptations, loan translations and loan extensions) and innovations. The phonological, morphophonemic and grammatical substitution processes of loan words have been discussed in detail.

Indian Sindhi does not show much resistance to borrowings from Hindi. This process has greatly affected the phonological, grammatical and lexical pattern of the language. The following significant "Results of Interference" (Ch. 4) have been noticed in the Sindhi structure as the impact of Hindi borrowings :

1. The distribution pattern of Sindhi phonemes is affected to a great extent.
2. The Perso-Arabic borrowed sounds / x ɣ q / are losing their distinctness. These often occur in free variation with / kh g k / in the speech of bilingual immigrants. /ɣ q/ are practically getting lost in the speech of the younger generation.
3. The use of pronominal suffixes is gradually declining in formal speech.
4. Many Hindi prefixes and suffixes have affected the word formation pattern of Sindhi to a considerable extent.
5. Many borrowings have affected the existing Sindhi vocabulary in a number of ways - through the creation of homonymy and synonymy, the creation of translation compounds and of cognate doublets, and existing many vocables becoming absolete.

B 2: Plural Communications*

In summer 1977, Dr. L. Khubchandani conducted a Workshop on "Language in Mass Media" at the Honolulu Linguistic Institute, co-sponsored by the Linguistic Society of America, the East-West Center and the University of Hawaii. The Workshop focused attention on how mass media have brought new demands on languages in different societies.

At an interview with the EWC correspondent, discussing cross-cultural experiences in multilingual societies, Professor Khubchandani expressed : "The use of many languages in the Indian composite milieu has been an asset. Many Indians, being rich in verbal skills, apply more synergy and serendipity in face-to-face communications, develop positive attitudes toward different languages, and 'come out' of their own language 'shells' to a common ground. This process is different from the 'classic' bilingualism, we know in the Western world. When you miss some details in a bilingual conversation, you have many opportunities to develop a kind of rapport through redundancy, gestures, and other devices. Thus a living language remains in perpetual flux"

The Indian cinema and television is full of such examples where participants achieve access on a wider canvas, without having fully committed to observe the grammatical and stylistic nuances of another language. Such inter-cultural interchange helps you to realize the wealth of *variation* in human communication and tackle the complexities in an integrated manner."

Dr. Khubchandani is presently Professor of Linguistics at the University of Khartoum, Sudan; he was a Senior Fellow and Language Planning Consultant with the East-West Center during 1974-75. During his stay at the EWC, he trained principal investigators for a sociolinguistic survey in Southeast Asia. He also completed a monograph on "Language Modernization in South Asia" [published in 1983 by the University of Hawaii Press, under the title *Plural languages Plural Cultures*].

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* Excerpts from "Cross-Cultural Experiences : An Interview," *The East-West Magazine*, Winter-Spring 1978. p.15.

B 3: Language Development*

Dichotomy of Languages

With the new forces of modernization penetrating all walks of life, the issues of identity and development of different languages have acquired a political dimension. So pervasive in our time is the distinction between developed and underdeveloped (euphemistically called 'developing') stages of economies, societies and even cultures, that many language experts are led to employ the same dichotomy of languages.

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

Assumptions

In the context of language development, experts have suggested taxonomical classifications of sociolinguistic types of languages as 'tribal, early modern (developing), modern (developed), contemporary', etc. In this taxonomy linguistic modernization is plotted as 'a process the sense of which is to remove the inadequate premodern features from language' (Neustupny 1974, p.35). But the precise features characterizing inadequacy of modernity in a language system (lexical, syntactic, etc.) are left to subjective evaluation by extra-linguistic dimensions - ecological, social, projectional and so on, as presented in Table 1 :

Table 1. Dimensions of language development

Dimensions	So-called 'developed' languages	So-called 'Underdeveloped' languages
Ecological		
Utilization	Wider communication 'world' languages	Languages limited to a region (national, local languages)
Population strength	Dominant 'majority' languages	Dominated 'minority' languages (often treated as 'dialects' in policy-making)
Social		
Legitimization	Standard languages (acceptable to the élite)	Non-standard varieties, substandard languages (slangs, hybrids)
Domains of use	Full- fledged 'autonomous' languages	Languages with restrictive use (vernaculars in diglossia situations)
Projectional		
Graphization	Written languages	Unwritten languages
Literature	Literary languages	Colloquial 'bazaar' languages
Medium of education	Advanced 'cultivated' languages	Preparatory 'ethnic' languages
Technologization	Languages suitable for typing, shorthand and telecommunication purposes	Languages not extended for technological tasks

* Excerpts from 1984. "Language modernization in the 'developing' world". L.M.Khubchandani (translations in Arabic, Chinese, French, Russian, and Spanish.) *International Social Science Journal* Vol. XXXVI:1, Special issue *Intraction through Language* 99, UNESCO, Paris. pp. 169-88

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德里街头小贩的招牌，上面用印地语、乌尔都语和英语写着："神效草药止痛膏，保治诸般病痛"。J·鲍威尔摄于罗马。

域，特别是在正规交际（教育、行政管理、宣传工具等）方面。

许多负责确定传统社会语言政策的专家，从发展中国家执掌经济和技术计划的权威们所设想的发展道路中得到启示，倾向于通过技术使这些语言的交际规划的范

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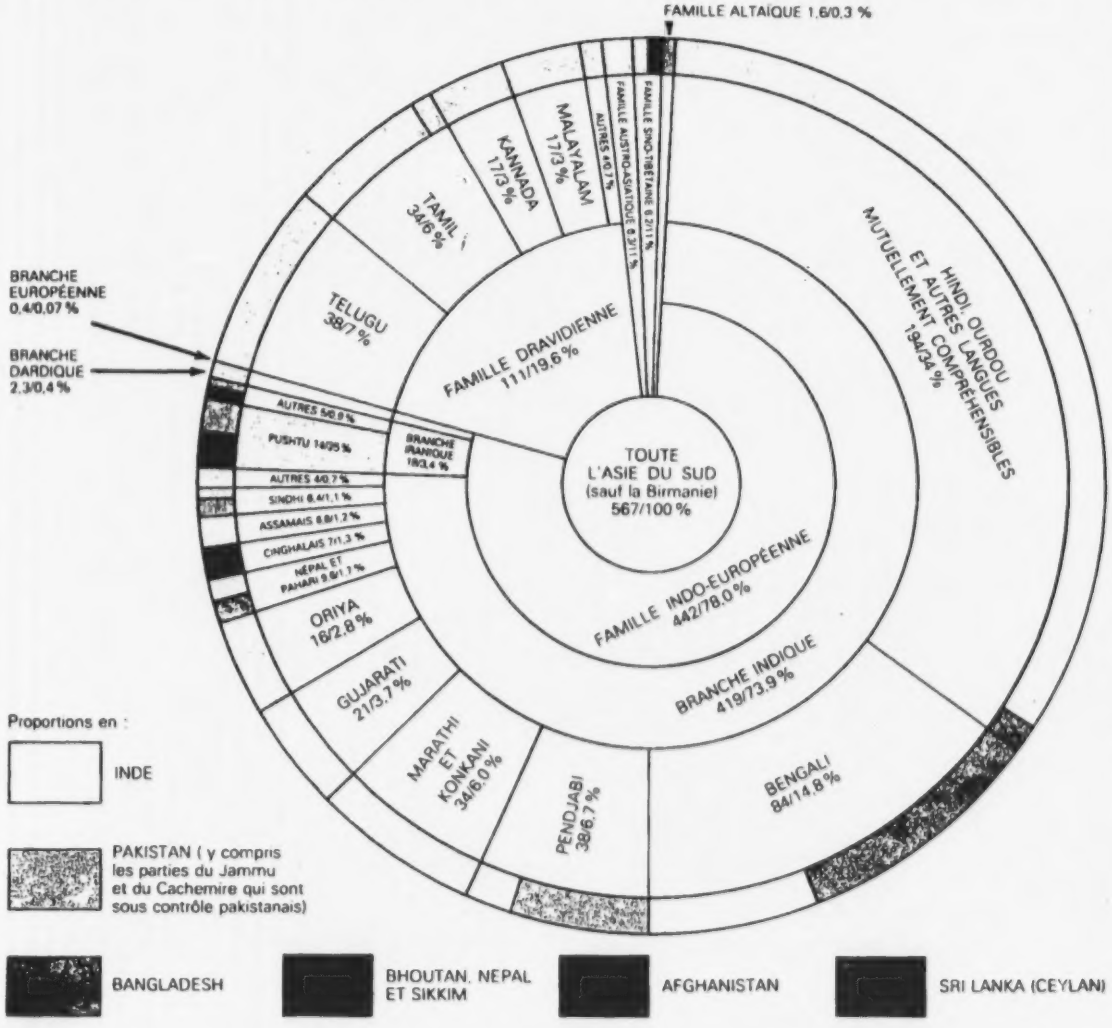

La diffusion des familles de langues et des principales langues en Asie du Sud. Du *Historic atlas of South Asia*. © The Regents of the University of Minnesota.

aucune preuve concluante. Elle risque de faire commettre une erreur analogue à celle des indo-européanistes du XVIII[e] siècle, égarés par leur ethnocentrisme.

La plupart des langues du sous-continent, qui ont prospéré grâce au pluralisme de la société indienne, n'ont pas subi les pressions de la normalisation à l'occidentale et n'ont pas été explicitement codifiées par des manuels d'orthographe, grammaires, dictionnaires et autres. Pour les principales d'entre elles, les impératifs de la normalisation et les campagnes d'alphabétisation sont d'apparition trop récente pour avoir encore sérieusement remis en cause la prépondérance des exigences implicites de l'affirmation de l'identité.

Dans l'usage « standard », le discours n'est plus « centré sur l'événement », mais « axé sur la norme » et « concentré sur l'expression ». Les tournures « correctes » (définies en dernier ressort par une élite linguistique) prennent le pas sur celles qui

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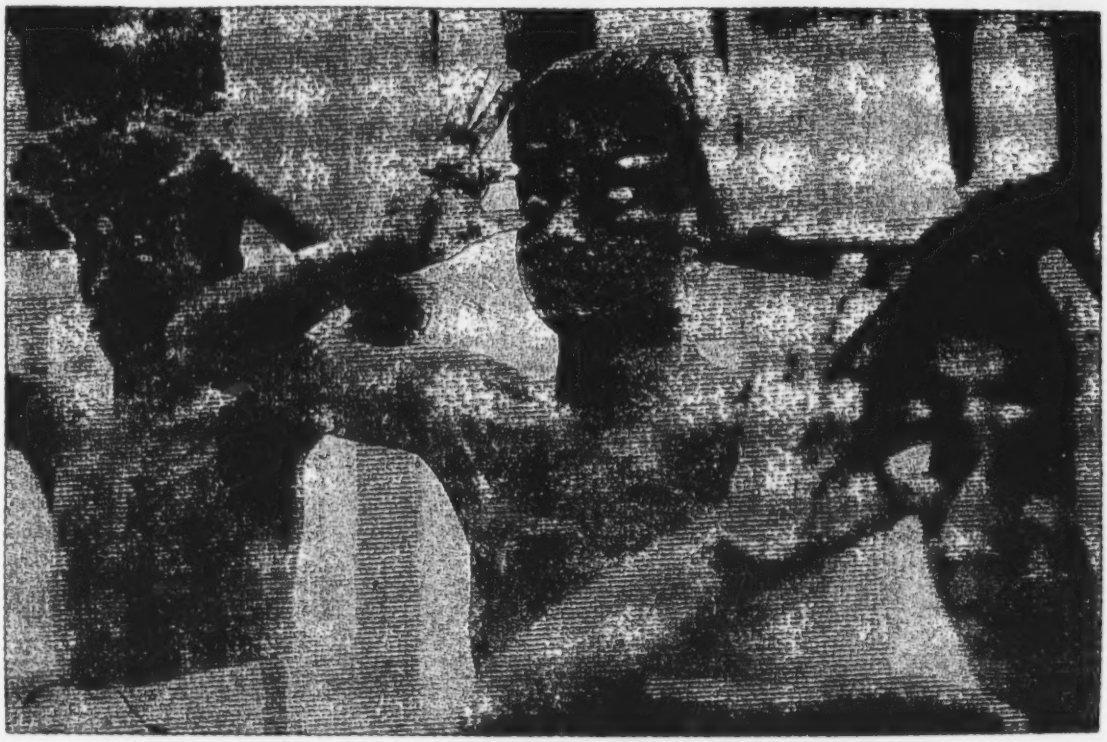

Ensayos de expresiones faciales: una manera de trascender las barreras lingüísticas. Henri Cartier-Bresson/Magnum.

tos de los idiomas europeos, especialmente del inglés, ha dado lugar a un estilo oral "culto" que está adquiriendo cada vez más popularidad entre la gente instruida que habla los diferentes idiomas indios. El bilingüismo compuesto de los idiomas indios y el inglés (el uso de dos o más lenguas en contextos fusionados para referirse al mismo acontecimiento) ha llevado a un cambio de código que ha acelerado este proceso. Ello trae consigo algunas connotaciones de refinamiento e intimidad en el registro hablado. Numerosos escritores contemporáneos han comenzado a utilizarlo en la literatura de vanguardia.

En los últimos años se han producido enérgicas reacciones contra estas dos tendencias diametralmente opuestas. En primer lugar, a medida que el alfabetismo se extiende, el hombre de la calle manifiesta un marcado rechazo contra los estilos "cultos", que le resultan ininteligibles. En segundo lugar, a medida que los estilos en prosa de los principales idiomas adquieren estabilidad, los escritores toman conciencia de las potencialidades inherentes a las pautas propias de su lengua, en lugar de buscar fuentes exteriores para refinar y pulir su discurso. Por último, los escritores, con el orgullo nacionalista de su lengua nativa, realizan un esfuerzo consciente por dar prestigio a los elementos propios del idioma e incluso por revitalizar formas obsoletas, dándoles connotaciones modernas.

Desde el punto de vista del "perfeccionamiento de la lengua", las materias de la educación pueden clasificarse en tres amplias categorías, que requieren diferentes tipos de elaboración para modificar el vehículo de enseñanza, particularmente en el nivel superior:

La primera categoría comprende las *materias basadas en la demostración y que utilizan en gran medida símbolos visuales concretos o*

B 4: A colourful Mosaic*

Is plurality of languages in an area a handicap or an asset in social development? If it is regarded as a handicap in integrating a nation, should we try to cope with is through some kind of selective bilingualism (or multilingualism) to bring some order out of chaotic diversity? If it is regarded as an asset, what exactly needs to be done to use the potential of this heritage and to gain insights into the dynamics of pluralistic societies generally?

The South Asian experience provides a unique model of plurality in verbal and non-verbal communications which has withstood the test of time over centuries. A plural society as an 'organic' whole is strengthened by a measure of fluidity in its modes of communication. Indian heterogeneity in speech, marked by implicit 'etiquette' and flexibility, can best be viewed within an overall organic unity of communications (Chatterjee 1945). This proposition questions the assumption that many languages is one "space". i.e. city, state, nation, pose a communication problem, and leads us to consider that variation in speech may be a significant contributing factor to the richness in verbal and non-verbal skills.

Excerpts from :

* "Pluriliguisme et Communication", L.M. Khubchandani. In: ed., F. Lo Jacomo, *Rapport du Seminaire*, organise a l'UNESCO par l' Association Universelle d'Esperanto (UEA), Paris 1985. pp. 85-86.

Arabic version: L. M. Khubchandani, 1973."Language situation in India", *Indian Horizons* Vol. XXII : 2, New Delhi (Publications Division, Govt. of India.).

Språk i ett mångfaldigt samhälle

Av Lachman M. Khubchandani

Författaren till denna översikt är chef för Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

Indien ger oss en enastående provkarta på språk i användning. I ett land med en befolkning på 550 miljoner håller tjogtals små folkgrupper på några tusen personer fortfarande fast vid sina modersmål i olika flerspråkiga enklaver.

Under historiens lopp har fyra språkfamiljer — den indoeuropeiska, den dravidiska, den austro-asiatiska, den sino-tibetanska — representerade av olika etniska grupper, verkat och återverkat på varandra, vilket har lett till att det finns en grundläggande kulturell enhetlighet på den indiska subkontinenten. Många indiska språk har påverkats av det historiska skeendet som en sammansatt språklig enhet. De har utvecklats i samma tättbefolkade område och har fått många fonologiska, grammatiska och lexikaliska likheter.

De moderna språkundersökningarna i landet har koncentrerats till fonologiska och grammatiska beskrivningar av många talade och skrivna språk och därvid betonat de skillnader som råder i fråga om språkliga system i olika delar av landet. Sådana ensidigt inriktade redogörelser för de skilda språken ger — mot bakgrund av den rådande tendensen till kamp för språkliga privilegier på alla livets områden — intrycket att språklig mångfald utgör ett stort handikapp för den nationella sammanhållningen. Dessa moderna riktningar i språkvetenskapen gör inte full rättvisa åt "den organiska enhetligheten" i de mönster och processer som verkar i talspråkets utveckling i Indien som helhet. Det har nu blivit nödvändigt för indiska språkmän och samhällsvetare att undersöka språkets roll i samhället och i individens liv och skaffa sig bättre begrepp om de sociolingvistiska realiteterna i dagens Indien.

Excerpts from : Swedish version: *Sprakvard* 1-1974, *Stockholm.* pp. 11-14.

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وفيما يلى تفصيل الناطقين بهذه اللغات ونسبتهم المئوية من مجموع السكان كما كان فى عام ١٩٧١م.

الوضع اللغوى فى الهند

اللغه	عدد الناطقين بها فى ملايين	نسبتهم المئوية من مجموع السكان
١ـ الهندية	١٦٢ر٦	٢٩ر٧
٢ـ تيلغوية	٤٤ر٨	٢٩ر٢
٣ـ البنغالية	٤٤ر٨	٨ر٢
٤ـ المراثية	٤٢ر٣	٧ر٧
٥ـ التاملية	٣٧ر٧	٦ر٩
٦ـ الاردية	٢٨ر١٦	٥ر٢
٧ـ الغجراتية	٢٥ر٩	٤ر٧
٨ـ الملايالم	٢١ر٩	٤ر٠
٩ـ الكنادية	٢١ر٧	٤ر٠
١٠ـ الاورية	١٩ر٩	٣ر٦
١١ـ البنجابية	١٦ر٤	٣ر٠
١٢ـ الآسامية	٩ر٠	١ر٦
١٣ـ الكاشميرية	٢ر٤	٠ر٤
١٤ـ السندية	١ر٧	٠ر٣
١٥ـ السنسكرتية	٢ر٢ (الف)	

اللغات الاضافية الادارية

١٦ـ المانتائية	١ر٥	٠ر٣
١٧ـ المنى بورية	٠ر٧٨	٠ر٢
١٨ـ الانكليزية	٠ر١٩	ـ

تكتب اللغات السنسكرتية والهندية والمراثية (والنيبالية ايضا) بالخط الديوناغرى ، واللغات الاردية والكشميرية والسندية بالخط الفارسى العربى. اما اللغات التسع الباقية فلها خطوط ممتازة بعضها عن بعض ، مستخرجة من الخط الناغرى القديم. واختارت بعض اللغات المحلية والقبيلية الخط الديوناغرى والخط الانكليزى بالاهتمام المتزايد بالاعمال الادبية للدراسة عن طريق لغة الام فان بعض اللغات التى تتعلق بها طبقات صغيره قد جعلت تتخذ الخط الديوناغرى او الانجليزى.

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APPENDIX - C

A CRITICAL REVIEW

Hamida Khuhro

Linguistics in South Asia, the fifth in the Series, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok and published in "Current Trends in Linguistics", pp. 201-234 (Mouton) carries an article on Sindhi by the Indian scholar Lachman M. Khubchandani of Deccan College, Poona.

The author has attempted to give a general survey of linguistic literature on Sindhi under nine headings, viz. 1. Writing System, 2. Phonology, 3. Grammar, 4. Dialect Studies, 5. Language in Contact, 6. Lexicography, 7. Comparative and Historical Studies, 8. Teaching Material, 9. Folklore, and 10. General Linguistics in Sindhi. The text is followed by a comprehensive bibliography on the subject.

This valuable survey, giving too much in too short a space, is obviously circumscribed by its own limitations. In each of the ten sections, developments in Sindhi both in Pakistan and India are covered. The author is more conversant with these developments before 1947; Sindhi literature produced during the post-independence period in Pakistan is of considerable dimensions and its bearings on Linguistics would need a more careful study to reach valid conclusions.

The author has rightly observed that since 1947, Sindhi is being spoken in multilingual situation. This situation appears to be more acute in India where Sindhi speaking population is scattered in groups. In Pakistan, Sindhi speaking population lives in sizable compact area in the province of Sind and also the contiguous areas of Las Bela, Karachi and Sibi districts of Baluchistan and parts of Rahimyar Khan district of the Punjab. In India, Sindhi Speakers have not only come in contact with, but are living in the midst of overwhelmingly large non-Sindhi linguist (cit) populations. Thus; the development of 'literary Sindhi' would seem to be difficult, even the preservation of pure Sindhi speech would be a problem.

The author's observation that the development of Sindhi in the new socio-cultural environment in India has "great susceptibility towards borrowing from different languages" underlines the reality of a compulsive situation - a process of accommodation and assimilation rather than any inherent susceptibility under a climate of free growth and development.

Assessing the reality of the Indian situation, the author has projected a new concept of 'Indian Sindhi' and thus added a new term to the local linguist vocabulary. It would seem as if the survival of 'Sindhi' as it has been known through history, is out of question, and that the present acculturation of 'Indian Sindhi' becomes a unique phenomenon of the present times. According to the author "Indian Sindhi, under the influence of Sanskrit and Hindi, is drifting towards tatsamization in order to conform with Pan-Indian characteristic. This process has greatly affected the phonological, grammatical and lexical pattern of

the language.''' If that is the degree of transformation recognized, the future Sindhi may or may not be able to preserve its historical identity in the new Indian environment.

It would appear that the author takes the increasing weightage of Pan-Indianism for granted, and so also the ''two different drifts which have introduced a conspicuous breach in the Pakistani and Indian-Sindhi styles.'' According to him, Sindhi in Pakistan also ''continues to lean heavily towards the Perso-Arabic and Urdu styles to identify itself with Islamic culture.'' This suggestion, or conclusion, conforms more to the author's own line of reasoning rather than to the reality of the situation. Islamic culture has been a fact of Sind's history, long before the achievement of Pakistan in 1947. It is not something new to conform with. Sindhi writers during the post-independence era have rather used a more powerful Sindhi idiom and more clear and direct style of expression than before. Sindhi and Urdu have no doubt rubbed shoulders with each other, but this interaction has not taken place within the domain of any 'Perso-Arabic influences'.

It is to the credit of the author that without any direct studies on the scene, he has been able to marshal useful information on linguistic developments in Sindhi in Pakistan. Some of his observations, however, do no reflect the actual position. We do not agree with his view that Dr. N. A. Baloch in his *Tarikha* (1962) has tried to show ''that the ancestry of Sindhi ... is closely connected with Semitic languages''. He has taken a consistent position that Sindhi is *an ancient indigenous Indo-Aryan language*. His 'speculation' regarding close connections with Semitic languages applied specifically to the ancient language of the Indus Valley which still remains to be deciphered, Dr. Baloch was the first to point out that Sindhi was not derived directly from Sanskrit, as was widely believed by Sindhi scholars before him, but has its origin in the pre-Sanskrit Prakrits of the local people. This view gave a fresh momentum to research on Sindhi's origin which has continued to this day. Also we do not fully understand the view-point attributed to the 'revivalists' (as the author has called some Sindhi scholars in India) that ''all Indic languages use one or the other form of Devanagari writing'' (p. 204). Bengali is written in Brahmi and not in Devanagari. The author's own ''rational stand'' in favour of ''Devanagari (through Hindi)'' is to be appreciated; but if Perso-Arabic script for Sindhi has to be abandoned in 'Indian surroundings' (overlooking the advantages of being familiar with Sindhi literature in Pakistan, or the additional advantage of being familiar with Urdu, Persian and Arabic scripts in the competitive commercial world), one may argue more rationally to use 'Hindi Script' with which Pakistani specialists in Sindhi may familiarize themselves one day!

We admire the scholarly effort and the patience with which the author has assembled his information from varied sources and presented a very useful survey of linguistic studies in Sindhi to the reader.

1978:Grassroots 2:1 (Spring issue)
Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind, Jamshoro

APPENDIX - D

RESEARCHERS ON SINDHI LANGUAGE :

Dr. Lachman Mulchand Khubchandani
(Sindhi B'olia ja Muhaqiq) *Hidayat Prem*

پڻ روشني وڌي اڀائين.

ڊاڪٽر لڇمڻ خوبچنداڻي ٻاهرين دنيا ۾ نه صرف سنڌي ٻوليءَ جو هڪ وڏو ماهر تسليم ٿيل آهي. پر لسانيات جي ٻين شاخن جهڙوڪ سماجي لسانيات ۽ Bilingualism Multilingualism جي ميدان ۾ پڻ سندس وڏو قدر آهي.

حوالا

(1) Khubchandani, Lachhman, The acculturation of Indian Sindhi to Hindhi A study of language in contact 1963

(2) Khubchandani, Lachhman. Current trends in linguistics, Sindhi 1969.

(3) خوبچنداڻي، لڇمڻ. مضمون "سنڌي ٻوليءَ جو بدلجندڙ روپ". ڪتاب" ادبي چمن" ۱۹۹۲ء. ص ۷۶-۸۱

(4) Khubchandani, Lachhman. Sindhi Language Indian Institute of Advanced study. 1973. p.5

(5) I bid P 10.

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ڪئي وئي. جنهن جا ٻه حصا خوبچنداڻيءَ تيار ڪيا ۽ ۱۹۶۸ع ۾ ڇپائي پڌرا ڪيا. ڊيڪن ڪاليج مان لسانيات جي موضوع تي ٿن عالمن کي پي ايڇ ڊي جي ڊگري ڏني وئي آهي. سي آهن (۱)هرليڊر جيٽلي. سنڌي صرفيات (۲) ستيش روهڙا ڪچيءَ جو گرامر (۳) تولائي سنڌي صورت بدل-نحو. پرسي ڪدوائي پنهنجي ايم اي جي ٿيسز" لاڙيءَ صوتيات" نالي سان لکي. ڪاليج ۾ رهندي خوبچنداڻي صاحب هيٺيان مقالا لکي تيار ڪيا.

(1) Contrastive study on Sindhi and Hindi Sound Structures.

(2) Writing Systems of Sindhi

(3) A grammatical Sketch of Sindhi

سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي باري ۾ خوبچنداڻيءَ جو رايو آهي.

سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي سرشتن جي اڀياس مان پتو پوي ٿو ته سنڌي ٻولي بنا ڪنهن شڪ شبهي جي هند آريائي ٻولين سان تمام ڳهرو رشتو رکي ٿي. سنڌي ٻوليءَ کي هند آريائي اترين اولاهين خاندان ۾ شمار ڪري ڳهجي ٿو. هن گروهه جي هڪ ٻولي لهندا، سرائڪي يا مغربي پنجابي به آهي.سنڌيءَ جو تعلق اوائلي پراڪرتن سان ته آهي. پر جديد هند آريائي ٻولين سان به آهي. پنهنجين ٻين پينرٻولين جيان سنڌي ۾ OIA قديم هند آريائي MIA وچين هند آريائي ۽ NIA جديد هند آريائي دور مان گذرندي اڄ جي دور ۾ داخل ٿي آهي. خوبچنداڻي جيرامداس دولترام سان متفق ٿيندي لکيو آهي ته سنڌيءَ جو وارڇه اپيرنش سان ڪوبه تعلق ڪونهي. جيئن مارڪنڊيه ڄاڻايو آهي. پر سنڌي ڪنهن آڪائي پراڪرت مان اسري نسري آهي (۴).

خوبچنداڻيءَ جي راءِ ۾ ضميري پڇاڙيون هند آريائي ٻولين مان صرف سنڌي ۽ ملتانيءَ ۾ آهن. جهڙوڪ:

چئيس- تون هن کي چئُ

چونداسون-اسين هنن کي چونداسين

جوٿهين-تنهنجي زال

ڏيرم-منهنجو ڏير

سائن-هنن سان گڏ

جهڙس-هن جهڙو

ضميري پڇاڙين جي هيءَ خصوصيت داردي ٻولين بلوچي ۽ فارسي ٻولين ۾ به آهي. (۵)

خوبچنداڻيءَ جا ريسرچ پيپر لاتعداد ڇپيا آهن. سندس هڪ مقالو آهي

Arabic Script for non Semitic languages

جنهن ۾ سمجهايو اٿائين ته اردو. سنڌي ۽ فارسي ٻوليءَ لاءِ عربي رسم الخط ڪيئن ڪم آيو آهي. سنڌي ٻوليءَ لاءِ ديوناگري لپي هجڻ ڳهرجي يا عربي - فارسي. انگريزن جي راڄ جي شروع ۾ هيءَ معاملو ڪيئن سلجهايو ويو تنهن تي

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لسانيات لاءِ پوپٽي هيرانداڻي، جتوئي، الانا ۽ پنهنجي ڪر جو احوال ڏنو اٿائين. مقالي جي آخر ۾ هڪ جامع ببليو گرافي ڏني وئي آهي. جنهن ۾ سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي باري ۾ لکيل سمورن اهر ڪتابن جي لسٽ ڏني وئي آهي. (۲)

خوبچنداڻي جا ڏهه مضمون جيڪي هن ۱۹٦۸ع کان ۱۹۷٦ع تائين لکيا، ان جو مجموعو سينگاپور جي ريجنل لينگويج سينٽر RELC پاران ڇاپايو ويو آهي،
"Language & Education in pluralistic Societies"

ڏکڻ ايشيا جي علائقن ۾ جتي هڪ کان وڌيڪ ٻوليون ڳالهائڻ وارا سماج موجود آهن، اتي جي سماجياتي حقيقتن جي سچاين جي پرک ڪئي وئي آهي.سماجي لسانيات جي ميدان ۾ هي، هڪ نهايت ڪارائتو ڪتاب آهي. سندس هڪ اهر ڪتاب آهي.

"Language Education and Social Justice"

هن ڪتاب ۾ هندين ذريعئ تعليم،مقامي ٻوليون، هندي ۽ انگريزي ٻوليون، لساني حقوق، سماجي انصاف جهڙا موضوع آئيني صورتحال جي حوالن سان قلمبند ڪيل هن. هن ڪتاب کي هند ۾ ڪافي ساراهيو ويو آهي.

خوبچنداڻي صاحب جون صرف ٻه تحريرون سنڌيءَ ۾ مون کي دستياب ٿي سگهيون آهن. هڪ آهي" ڪهاڻي" رسالي جي ۱۹٦۲ع جي ڪجهه پرچن ۾ پوپٽي هيرانداڻيءَ جي ڪتاب.پاشا شاستر" تي ڪيل تنقيد ۽ تبصري جا مضمون، هن مضمونن ۾ جديد لساني علم جي روشنيءَ ۾ ٻولين جي وصف ٻولين جي اوسر ۽ ارتقا، لساني تبديليون وغيره جو احوال ڏنو ويو آهي ۽ پوپٽيءَ جي ڪتاب جي اوتائين جي نشاندهي ڪئي آهي. خوبچنداڻيءجو ٻيو مضمون سنڌيءَ ۾ لکيل آهي" سنڌي ٻوليءَ جو بدلجندڙ روپ" گجرات سنڌي اڪادمي گانڌي نگر جي مخزن "ادبي چمن" ۱۹۹۲ع ۾ ڇپيو آهي. سندس راءِ ۾ گذريل چاليهن سالن ۾ پارت جي بهوپاشي ماحول ۾ سنڌي ٻولي جي واهپي ۾ ڪيترين تبديلين ٿيندين نظر اچن ٿيون. وڏي وهيءَ وارا سنڌي ڳالهائيندڙ انهن تبديلين کي اڪثر" ٻوليءَ جو بگاڙو" ڪري ٿا ليکين ٻوليءَ ۾ تبديلين جو گهڻو دارومدار تاريخي حادثن تي منحصر رهي ٿو. ٿلهي ليکي ٻوليءَ جي وهنوار ۾ ٽن نمونن جون تبديليون ڏسڻ ۾ اچن ٿيون. (۱) ايراضائي اثر هيٺ ايندڙ تبديليون (۲) انفرادي سڃاڻپ جيءاثر هيٺ ايندڙ تبديليون (۳) تاثرات کي وٺ ڏيارڻ خاطر ايندڙتبديليوٺهي ٽئي قسمن جو تبديليون اچارن، گرامر جي خصوصيتن، جملن ۽ شبدالي، جي چوند دوران جڏهن رٿائتي جوڙ ۾ عام مروج ٿيڻ لڳن ٿيون تہ اهي پاشا جي سرشتي ۾ Fundamental اثر چڏين ٿيون (۳) خوبچنداڻي جا ٻيا سڀ ڪر انگريزي ۾ آهن.

پوني جي مشهور ڪاليج-ڊيڪن ڪاليج ۾ سنڌي لسانيات جو شعبو سن ۱۹٦۱ع ۾ قائم ٿيو. جنهن جي ترقي ۽ واڌاري ۾ ڊاڪٽر خوبچنداڻيءَ جو گهڻو ئي حصو آهي. ڊيڪن ڪاليج ۾ جامع سنڌي- انگريزي ڊڪشنريءَ جي رٿا تيار

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(دخيل لفظ) لفظن (Loan Words) کي پڻ تفصيل سان بحث هيٺ آندو آهي. ڪوڊ سوئچنگ ۽ ڪوڊ مڪسنگ جهڙن جديد موضوعن تي پڻ پنهنجن خيالن جو اظهار نهايت سهڻن مثالن سان ڪيو آهي. خويچنداڻي ڄاڻايو آهي ته ڪيئن سنڌي ٻولي هنديءَ جا اثرات قبول ڪندي نه رڳو اڌارا لفظ (Loan Words) ورتا آهن پر سنڌي ٻولي جي صرف ۽ نحو ۾ ڪجهه تبديليون پڻ واقع ٿيون آهن. خويچنداڻيءَ جي خيال ۾ هنديءَ سان گهري تعلق ۾ اچڻ جي ڪري هند جي سنڌي ٻوليءَ تي جيڪي اثرات ٿيا آهن سي هن ريت آهن:

۱. سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي صوتياتي نظام ۾ تبديلي آئي آهي ۽ ڪن صوتين تي به اثر پيو آهي.

۲. عربي، فارسي آواز/خ، غ ۽ ق/ آهستي آهستي سنڌيءَ مان گم ٿي رهيا آهن ۽ انهن جي جاءِ ، /ک، گ ۽ ڪ/ والاري رهيا آهن. منهنجي راءِ ۾ /ق/ آواز ته سنڌيءَ جي صوتياتي نظام ۾ داخل ئي نه ٿي سگهيو آهي، البت لکڻ جي صورت ۾ /ق/ موجود آهي.

۳. سنڌيءَ ۾ ڪجهه ضميري پڇاڙيون به آهستي آهستي گم ٿي رهيون آهن.

۴. هنديءَ جون ڪي اڳياڙيون ۽ پڇاڙيون سنڌي لفظن جي بناوت تي اثر انداز ٿيون آهن.

(۵) سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي اکر ڀنڊار ۽ معنيات تي هنديءَ جا ڪيترن ئي رُخن کان اثرات ٿيا آهن (۱).

خويچنداڻيءَ جي هڪ اهم ۽ يادگار ڪاوش جو ذڪر ڪرڻ ضروري ٿو سمجهان. سو آهي. ڪرنٽ ٽرينڊس ان لنگئسٽڪس جي جلد ۵ ۾ سندس مقالو "ڪرنٽ ٽرينڊس ان سنڌي" جيڪو ۱۹۶۹ع ۾ ڇپيو.هن مقالي ۾ سنڌي لسانيات جي هر پهلوءَ ۾ ٽيل ڪر جو تعارف ۽ جائزو پيش ڪيو ويو آهي. هن مقالي ۾ هند توڙي سنڌ ۾ ٽيل ڪر کي نظر ۾ رکيو ويو آهي. جن خاص خاص موضوعن تي لکيو ويو آهي. سي هي آهن.

۱. رسم الخط. سنڌيءَ جي موجوده عربي- فارسي رسم الخط ڪيئن ٺهي ۽ هند ۾ ديوناگري لپيءَ جو مسئلو زير بحث آندو آهي.

۲. صوتيات. صوتيات تي ٽيل ڪر جو جائزو خوب ورتو آهي. جوشن آوازن جي احوال۾ جان بوردي ۽ پنهنجي پاران ڪيل ڪر جو ذڪر ڪيو آهي.۳. گرامر. سنڌيءَ ۾ لکيل سمورن اوائلي توڙي تازه گرامرن جو احوال ڏنو آهي. ۴. لهجن ۽ محاورن تي ٽيل ڪر. ۵. هولين جو پاڻ ۾ تعلق واري-حصي ۾ سندس ڪر نمايان آهي. ۶. لغت نويسي جي حصي ۾ سمورين قسمن جي لغتن جو ڀرپور احوال ڏنو اٽائين. ۷. تقابلي ۽ تاريخي لسانيات. سنڌي ٻوليءَ جي تاريخ جي سلسلي ۾ مرزا قليچ، ليلو رچنداڻي، سراج، ڊاڪٽر نبي بخش بلوچ، پيرو مل، پرو.فيسر علي نواز جتوئي جي نظريئي تي ڪافي ڪجهه ڇپي چڪي آهي ۸. تدريسي مواد جي سري هيٺ سنڌي انسٽرڪٽر ۽ ريڊنگ بوڪن جو احوال ڏنل آهي. ۹. لوڪ ادب جي عنوان هيٺ سنڌي ادبي بورڊ جي ڪر جو ذڪر ڪيل آهي. ۱۰. عام

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ڊاڪٽر ڇمڻ موڇند خوبچنداڻي

سنڌي ٻوليءَ جو بين الاقوامي سطح تي مڃيل مشهور ۽ معروف ماهر لسانيات ڊاڪٽر ڇمڻ موڇند خوبچنداڻي سنڌي ٻوليءَ تي تحقيق ڪندڙن ۾ سڀ کان نمايان حيثيت حوماڻڪ آهي. ڇمڻ خوبچنداڻي سن ۱۹۳۲ع ۾ ڪراچيءَ ۾ ڄائو. سن ۱۹۶۱ع ۾ آمريڪا جي پينسلوانيا يونيورسٽي مان ايم اي لسانيات ۾ ڪيائين. ان ڊگريءَ لاءِ جيڪو مقالو لکيائين ان جو عنوان آهي.

The Phonology and Morphophonemics of Sindhi.

خوبچنداڻيءَ ساڳئي يونيورسٽي يعني پينسلوانيا مان سن ۱۹۶۳ع ۾ پي ايڇ ڊي لسانيات ۾ ڪئي ان لاءِ سندس مقالي جو عنوان هو.

The acculturation of Indian Sindhito Hindi: A study of Language in Contact.

ڊاڪٽر خوبچنداڻي زغرب يونيورسٽي يوگوسلويا ۾ پروفيسر آف انڊين لنگئسٽڪس ٿي رهيو آهي. آمريڪا جي رياست هونولولو جي ايسٽ ويسٽ سينٽر ۾ سينئر فيلو ٿي رهيو آهي. ان کان علاوه سينگاپور جي ريجنل انگلش لئنگويج سينٽر RELC ۾ ۱۹۷۶ع ۾ نو مهينا رهيو ۽ اتي تحقيقي ڪتاب لکيائين

Language and Education in Pluralistic Societies.

ڊاڪٽر خوبچنداڻي پوني جي مشهور ڊيڪن ڪاليج سان ڀڻ منسلڪ رهيو آهي. ۱۹۸۰ع جي ڏهاڪي ۾ ڪجهه سال پوني جي سينٽر فار ڪميونيڪيشن اسٽڊيز سان وابسطه رهيو.

ڊاڪٽر خوبچنداڻي جي دلچسپيءَ جا موضوع هي رهيا آهن: لسانيات، ڪميونيڪيشن، سماجي لسانيات ۽ لئنگويج ڊيماگرافي. ڊاڪٽر خوبچنداڻيءَ ڪافي ڪتاب لکيا آهن. مضمون ۽ لاتعداد لکيا اٿائين. سندس ايم اي جي ٿيسز سنڌالاجي ۽ سينٽرل لائبريري سنڌ يونيورسٽي ۾ ۽ ڪوٽ آهي. البت اسڪول آف اورينٽل اينڊ آفريڪن اسٽڊيز لنڊن جي لائبريري ۾ رکي ڇڏي هئي. اتي پڙهي هير.

سندس ڪم سائنسي بنيادن تي ٽيل آهي. سندس پي ايڇ ڊي واري ٿيسز جي زيراڪس ڪاپي سنڌالاجيءَ ۾ موجود آهي. هيءَ ڪتاب نهايت اعليٰ ۽ عمده تحقيقي مواد تي مشتمل آهي. ڪتاب ۾ ۱۹۴۷ع کان پوءِ هند ۾ لڏي آيل سنڌين جي سنڌي ٻوليءَ جو هنديءَ سان تعلق ٿيڻ سان آيل تبديلين جو اڀياس آهي. هندي ۽ سنڌي ٻولين جو تاريخي پس منظر ۾ بيان ڪيل آهي. هند ۾ Bilingualism ۽ لسانيت واري صورتحال پيدا ٿي آهي. يعني هندي ۽ سنڌي هڪ جيتري مهارت ۽ هڪ ئي وقت ڳالهائڻ، جي چند ڇاڻ ڪئي وئي آهي. هنديءَ مان آڏارا ورتل

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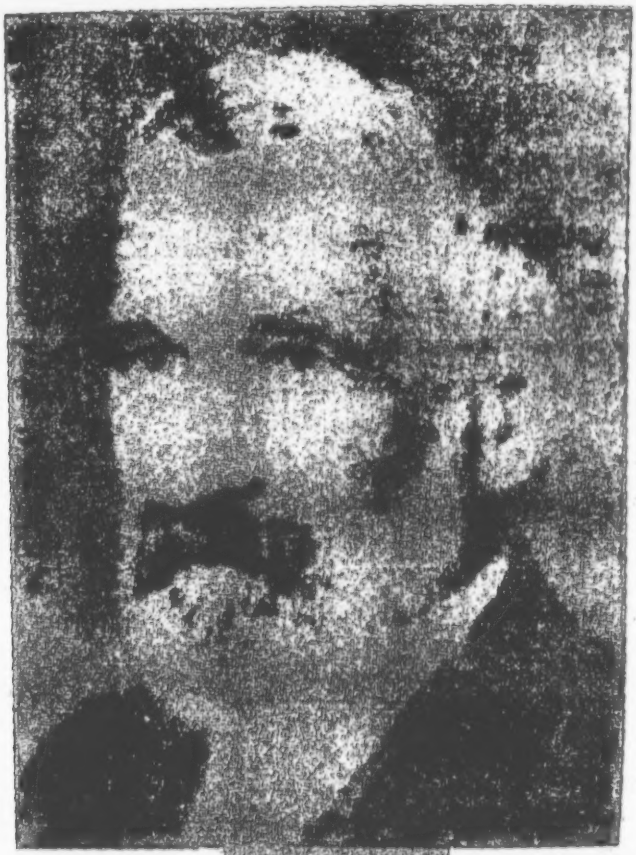

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مرزا خليج بيگ

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حڪيم فتح محمد سيوهاڻي

سراج ميمڻ

ڈاڪٽر غلام علي الانا

ڈاڪٽر لچمڻ خوبچنداڻي

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كتاب نمبر ارڙهون (18)

سنڌي پوليءَ جا محقق

هدايت پريم

سنڌ تحقيقي بورڊ، حيدر آباد سنڌ
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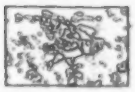
Khubchandani, Lachman Mulchand, M.A. Ph.D. 1963 (Pennsylvania), Professor of Linguistics, a social scientist of international repute. He hails from Karachi, migrated across the border in India at the time of Partition.

Founding Director of the Centre for Communication Studies at Pune. He has taught at several places in India, the United States, the United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, Singapore, and Sudan, and has worked as Language Planning Consultant at the UNESCO and at the East-West Center, Honolulu; was Chairman of the Adolphe Quetelet Work Group on Language Statistics (1974-78); Vice-President, Research Committee on Sociolinguistics of the International Sociological Association (1982-86); and Member of the UNESCO Work Group 'Right To Communicate' (1974-77).

Has contributed several publications in the fields of sociolinguistics, culture, and communication. Prominent among them are: *Plural Languages, Plural Cultures* (East-West Center; Honolulu 1983); *Language, Education, Social Justice* (Pune 1981); *Linguistic Demography* (Pune 1981); *Language, Culture and Nation-building* (Shimla 1990); *Tribal Identity* (Shimla 1992), *Revisualizing Boundaries* (Sage, New Delhi 1997); and *Sindhi Heritage* (Delhi 1997). He has edited two volumes : *Linguistics and Language Planning in India* (Pune 1969); and *Language in A Plural Society* (Shimla 1988); and compiled *Sindhi-English Dictionary* (two fascicules, Pune 1981), *Bibliography of Sociolinguistics in South Asia* (Shimla 1973). In preparation : Sindhi Diaspora in a Global Perspective.

Received 1993 **Media India** Award for research in communication, and ***Man of the Year 2000*** Award of the American Biographical Institute. Currently Member of the Scientific Council based at Barcelona, to follow-up the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights with the support from UNESCO; and Member of editorial boards of *Intrernational Journal of the Sociology of Language* (Mouton, Berlin) and *Language and Education* (Multilingual Matters, Clevendon). Member of the National Council for the Promotion of Sindhi Language, Baroda, Chairman of Sindhu Charitable Trust, and Hon. Director of Sindhu Documentation Centre at Pune.



PHOENIX

Engraving by Morante

To have realized that the thread is one, however many the knots, is to be assured that by holding on to this thread or golden chain by which, as Plato says, we are suspended from above, we cannot go astray; it is only for so long as we think of the knots as independent substances that we cannot ''thread the maze'' or escape from the toil.

On the other hand, the one line technique in black has quite an extraordinary development in European calligraphy. Here, quite likely, it is at last employed solely for decorative purposes and without awareness of an implicit significance, although in the hands of the Spaniard Pedro Dias Morante, perhaps, its most brilliant exponent, it is repeatedly employed to form traditional motives that are far from meaningless to anyone who is acquainted with their history. We find the ''one-line'', too employed in parts of his wood engraving of the *Phoenix* protecting a trinity of rabbits (who are guarded also by a one-line ''fence'') from the poison of the snake, in what Strzygowski would have called a ''Hvarena landscape'' and is undoubtedly a Paradise; the inscription, ''My piety makes light of poison'', in connection with the ancient motive of the Sunbird killing a snake, makes it almost certain that Morante meant his *Phoenix* for a type of Christ; while the form of the ''fence'' reminds us that the Greek key-pattern or meander had once a metaphysical significance.

- ANANDA KENTISH COOMARASWAMY

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